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SURTEES SOCIETY

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[HOURS (YORK)]

# HORAE EBORACENSES

THE PRYMER OR HOURS OF THE  
BLESSED VIRGIN MARY,

ACCORDING TO THE USE OF

THE ILLUSTRIOUS CHURCH OF YORK

WITH OTHER DEVOTIONS

AS THEY WERE USED BY THE LAY-FOLK IN THE

NORTHERN PROVINCE

IN THE XV<sup>TH</sup> AND XVI<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES

*ed. Worlawrite, CHRISTOPHER*



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At a Council Meeting of the SURTEES SOCIETY, held in Durham Castle, on Tuesday, March 5, 1918, Mr J. CRAWFORD HODGSON, in the Chair,

It was resolved, that the Rev. Canon WORDSWORTH, M.A., Chancellor of Salisbury Cathedral, should edit the *Horae Eboracenses*.



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## PREFACE

THIS little book represents a considerable portion of an edition of the York Prymer, offered to the Council of the Society.

The editor had prepared a text which was designed to include all the (not very numerous) surviving editions printed in the sixteenth century, not omitting the fragments of one or two which had otherwise entirely perished.

The plan proposed was to start with the very rare, or unique, *Horae* of 1536, the latest known text of Henry VIII's reign, as a basis, and to supplement it on the one hand by comparison with the smaller books issued under Philip and Mary in 1555 and 1556, and then in the other direction, while enumerating and describing the contents of each of the earlier books in their order of date, to print *in extenso* each prayer or devotion, not already found in the text of 1536 or in the Marian booklets, as it occurred in the earlier edition immediately under review. Also, to print in appendix certain gleanings from extant MSS. of Northern devotions. The Council, after deliberation and advice, decided to place the book, in a restricted form, upon the list (as illustrative of the religious life of the sixteenth century in the Northern Province) in 1905. In 1917 the editor was instructed to prepare the book for issue in 1920. The deaths of the Reverend Edward Samuel Dewick, of Dr Henry Marriott Bannister, and of Mr Edmund Bishop (great-hearted scholars never failing to give a helping hand to him or to any Mr Faint-heart or Mr Ready-to-halt in doubt or difficulty) have somewhat daunted him, but the timely help most generously given by the Dean of Gloucester and by Dr Joseph Thomas Fowler, and the Reverend Henry Austin Wilson, notwithstanding the demands from other quarters upon their time, have proved a great encouragement. To these three friends in need, as well as to the Printers and the Readers at the University Press, the Society and the present editor have good reason to be grateful. Without their help and vigilance the faults and defects



which may be noticed in this small volume would have been very numerous.

The book contains the text of the York *Horae* of 1536, with the extant fragments of c. 1510 and c. 1516 collected and inserted in the places to which they belong. The full table of contents has been given below on pp. 155–160. It has been taken from the original *tabula* of 1536 and has been made (we trust) more serviceable to the reader by revision and by comparison with the running-titles, &c. in the book itself. The numerals of the pages in our own reprint have been supplied, throughout, whereas the little book in 1536 had no foliation, and its users in the time of Henry VIII had to find their places, as best they could, without any such assistance. In consequence of the war, the principal libraries were closed, and the librarians were engaged in other public duties, and travelling was practically impossible to the editor, on whom advancing years and increasing infirmities have grown while the book has been in the Press. He writes, accordingly, with diffidence about the Marian editions (as well as about other books at York Minster Library itself), but his belief is that the Marian editions of 1555 and c. 1556 have been dealt with, sufficiently for practical purposes for students, in the present volume. He has been able to use his own transcripts and collations made at York, at Cambridge, and in the British Museum in the course of the last eighteen years, and has been able to check them by turning to the mass of Dr Henderson's notes and transcripts which the Henry Bradshaw Society, through the good offices of Mr Dewick, has generously lent him. Mr Henry Littlehales has been proved, as in past years, to be an encouraging and ready helper, and his unequalled knowledge of the Prymer has been invaluable. Successive Vicars of St Mary's, Marlborough, his near neighbours in years past (Canon W. Gardiner, Bishop Lewis George Mylne, and the Reverend A. E. G. Peters) have enabled him to make full reference to the Sarum *Horae* of 1535–36. Wynkyn de Worde's, of 1523, is here at Salisbury in a copy which has its defective pages made good by Miss Margaret E. Thompson's careful transcript. On account of the singular rarity of the York books in particular, more than ordinary acknowledgement of their kindness is due to those who granted permission so generously for the unique books in their guardianship to be examined. To the Dean and

Chapter of York, and more particularly to the Reverend John Watson, Canon Residentiary and Librarian of York, to the Reverend E. C. Smith, and more recently to the Reverend Henry Theodore Sydney Gedge, Vicar Choral, and Rector of St Denys' with St George's, York, for answers to many enquiries: to Dr Francis Jenkinson for information respecting the Marian Prymer in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge. To Mr Falconer Madan the editor has never appealed in vain. In reply to an application made by Mr Littlehales on his behalf, Mr Julius Parnell Gilson, Keeper of the MSS. and Egerton Librarian at the British Museum, very kindly contributed from his great store of knowledge at a critical moment of perplexity. To the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, and especially to Edward Tucker Leeke, M.A., John Henchman Crowfoot, M.A., and John Octavius Johnston, D.D., successive Chancellors of the Church there, for permission to make use of the unique copy of the *Horae*, printed in 1536, while the necessary transcription and printing of the text now issued was in progress<sup>1</sup>, the editor is much indebted, as also to Prebendary Reginald Maxwell Woolley, D.D.: likewise to the Master and Fellows of St John's College, Cambridge, who granted facilities for transcribing and collating the pages of their copy of the quarto of 1517-18. He is indebted also (as to the late Mr James Bass Mullinger) to Mr C. W. Previt  Orton, for special assistance, and to Mr E. W. Lockhart, who transcribed the Canons and Tables printed on pp. 21-3, as well as to others, his fellow librarians, Messieurs A. S. Ramsay, E. Bonney (by favour of the Right Reverend the President) and the Reverend F. W. Head who supplied information respecting the York Prymers in their care (in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene, St Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, and Emmanuel College, Cambridge, respectively) some years ago.

<sup>1</sup> The blurred appearance of Jehan Marchant's device, on p. 1, needs some apology. The little book of 1536 was re-bound so tightly in the nineteenth century that our attempt to get a satisfactory photographic reproduction of the title-page (for the sake of the printer's device) was unsuccessful, and tracing has been also difficult. The paper of the original is worn and inked, and even when it was new it was rendered obscure by the 'take-off' of a somewhat large and broad capital letter O in red and black, while the ink was still wet in the Rouen printing office. The pages of the book seem also now too tender to justify the risk of another un-binding, although several leaves are disarranged.

Lord Aldenham gave generous permission to retain his father's transcript of various MSS. *Horae*, with a serviceable Index of antiphons, &c. pending the deferred publication of the present work. This index has at times afforded a clue when Mr Hoskins's otherwise invaluable indexes of contents in printed copies have proved insufficient.

Lastly, lest this little book should go forth without an Appendix of proportionate size, the Provost of Eton's admirable catalogues, and the kindness of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, with the good offices of the Reverend Dr Vincent Henry Stanton, Regius Professor of Divinity, and Mr Cecil B. Hurry, as well as of the late Archdeacon John Bond, and of Mr Littlehales and certain other scholars already named, have enabled the editor, on pp. 161-183, and p. lviii, at least to draw attention to a few of the liturgical treasures and curious relics which are still preserved in manuscripts, either derived from the Northern Province, or else in some other way connected with it.

Such manuscripts as have furnished the Appendix the late Dr Henderson, Mr Henry Bradshaw, the Reverend William George Searle, and Canon Thomas Frederick Simmons, as well as others still happily with us, have long since commended to the reader's notice.

**Laus • Deo • detur.**



## INTRODUCTION

ONE of the principal ends for which the SURTEES SOCIETY was founded is the purpose of illustrating and recording "the intellectual, the moral, the religious and the social condition" of Northumbria in various periods of our country's history.

In accordance with such an objective it has followed as a natural consequence that among the volumes already issued by the Society a considerable number have been concerned more or less directly with the devotions of our forefathers in the northern part of England.

The Society has already issued to its members, and for the help and enlightenment of those students who have access to its series of volumes, the text of nearly all the extant liturgical printed books (as well as certain manuscripts) according to the Use of the Metropolitan Church of York, while the Rites and Customs belonging to the Monastical Church of Durham as recollected and described in 1593 have been edited first by Dr Raine in 1842, and sixty years later in a revised and improved edition by Canon Fowler. These books, together with the Chantry Surveys and other volumes of registers, wills, and so forth, have helped us to realise more vividly than we could otherwise have done, what was the old social life on its religious side. These works have also shed a light upon the obscurities which perplex the student of liturgies and beset the antiquary in his researches; and they have helped to satisfy the natural desire of such of us as may wish to know and understand what was the daily life of those who in the north long since their nest have made.

In 1872 and 1874 the York *Missale* was issued in two volumes, anticipating by a year the appearance of the York *Pontifical*, which was the work of the same indefatigable editor, namely Dr William George Henderson of Magdalen College, Oxford, and of Durham, Jersey and Leeds, who was subsequently (in 1884-1905) Dean of Carlisle. He served the University of Durham for many years.

This *Liber Pontificalis*, which had been announced in 1870, contained as its principal or leading item the text printed from a thirteenth century manuscript, which in the early years of the sixteenth century belonged to Christopher Bainbridge, Archbishop

of York. It had been preceded in 1853 by the Egbert Pontifical (with its Benedictional) printed from the early tenth century manuscript at Paris. Although the researches of Mr H. A. Wilson in later years have shown that certain of Dr Henderson's observations need to be revised, his work as a pioneer commands our admiration.

Dr Henderson, at that time head master of Leeds Grammar School, had promised the Society, in addition to the volumes of the York Missal, another volume of *The ancient Use of the sacrosancta ecclesia Eboracensis anglicana* in 1872. The result of his self-imposed holiday-tasks appeared in 1874 in a composite volume. This included (1) the York Manual, or ritual of occasional services, as he found it in fourteenth and fifteenth century manuscripts, and as it had been further compared by him with the text of the old printed editions of 1509-30; and (2) a presentment (by collation) of the *Manuale* of Salisbury Use; and there was moreover comprised in the same volume with these Manuals (3) the York *Processionale* from the old printed editions of 1530-55. In the same year he finished, as a by-work or interlude, an important edition of the very rare Hereford Missal<sup>1</sup>.

It was in the second year after that *annus mirabilis* that the Society decided that the York Breviary should be edited for them by Mr Stephen Willoughby Lawley. This work Mr Lawley performed with fidelity and characteristic nicety in the two volumes which were issued for 1880 and 1883. When in the following year Dr Henderson went from Leeds to the Deanery of Carlisle he had thus witnessed the completion of the series of readable texts of the principal books which had been used by the clergy in the Latin services of the Church of York. There remained, however, another important book of kindred character, but one which had been used by the lay-folk rather than by the clergy. This was the *Horae* or Prymer of York Use, and it needed still to be made accessible to students.

The *Horae* or Prymer was a book which concerned the devotions of the laity of both sexes even more than it assisted the clergy in performing a part of their religious duties, and for its reproduction Dr Henderson made extensive preparations, but he never found the opportunity to get the result of his labours published. When the present editor had prepared a text for the Society (1894-1901) Dr Henderson with his usual generosity lent him a portion of his papers which bore upon certain points of immediate interest, and more recently through the kind offices of Dr John Wickham Legg, the Reverend Edward Samuel Dewick and Henry Austin Wilson,

<sup>1</sup> The Hereford Missal was printed in a limited issue of 250 copies by Messieurs McCorquodale and Company of Leeds.

the whole of the papers which on Dr Henderson's death in 1905 were bequeathed to the Henry Bradshaw Society were lent him for his use.

The HORAE which Dr Henderson proposed to edit, and with which the present volume is concerned, consisted principally and in the main of a well-known and generally recognised form: a *cursus* or course of devotions which were originally an addition to the Daily Office of the Seven Hours of Prayer which clustered round the Eucharistic Service.

The Liturgy of the Eucharist itself,—derived as it is from our Saviour's Institution, and taking shape in accordance with the spirit of the Apostles in obedience to His injunction,—may be compared to a jewel richly wrought and enclosed in an ancient setting of its own. As time went on this jewel with its immediate setting has been enclosed within an elaborate circlet (the Divine Office), and this again has been further enriched by the attachment of pendants to the various medallions (so to fancy them) of which that circlet is composed. Many of these pendants (so to call them) came to be treasured in the *Horae*.

The Eucharist with its own immediate liturgical setting (which came presently to be enshrined in the Sacramentary and in course of time in the Missal) has for its exterior adornment the circlet of Divine Service, i.e. the Daily Office of the Hours of Prayer, seven or eight in number, as completed in the sixth century by the great St Benedict of Nursia, viz. Matins with Lauds, Prime, Terce (or Undern), Sext, Nones, Evensong (or Vespers) and Compline: a round of services which came to be collected in the Breviary. In this seven-fold or eight-fold circle of praise, reading and prayer, the Eucharist, with its own proper and more immediate liturgical setting of special prayer, reading, praise and thanksgiving, finds its proper surrounding day by day and has at a certain point amidst it its own predominant place assigned<sup>1</sup>. Somewhat later than the time of the great St Benedict some further enrichments and adornments were devised. In these we have been taught by the late Mr Edmund Bishop<sup>2</sup> to recognise the craftsmanship of a namesake of St Benet, St Benedict of Aniane (A.D. 751–821), who, if not himself the original inventor of such offices, appears to have used the authority granted to him by Lewis the Pious, son of Charles the Great, over the monastic communities in Aquitaine and in the Frankish dominions, to give an impulse to the spread

<sup>1</sup> For practical purposes although its precise place among the daily round of choir services was subject to variation, we may consider the Liturgy of the Mass to be set after Terce in the circle of the Divine Service. See Lyndewode, *Provinciale*, iii. tit. 23, and cf. *Old English Service Books* (Wordsworth and Littlehales), p. 21, with Frere's *Use of Sarum*, i. pp. 61, 62, 89, 99–100, 105, 144, 172; ii. p. 229.

<sup>2</sup> *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918), pp. 211–237.

of such devotions. To one and another of the eight offices which composed the daily course or circle of Divine Service, the recitation whereof according to the form or Use prescribed for their respective bodies was not only obligatory for those who lived under monastic rule but was incumbent also on the secular clergy, devout persons as time went on attached as a sort of pendant more than one supplementary office and more than one *cursus* of additional devotions. Some of these, having had their day, were after a while discarded; but a considerable number were retained more permanently, and contributed to form the contents of the books which came to be known as "*Horae*." Of such books the present volume represents a specimen, such as was used by not entirely illiterate lay-folk, in places where the Use of York prevailed, in the reign of K. Henry VIII. The little book from which our text is printed (through the kind permission of the present owners, the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln) is a very rare specimen of the *Horae* in its latest stage of completeness. We may ask the reader to glance at it in a brief description before proceeding to survey the growth of its contents at earlier stages of its history.

This edition, of which only a single copy, so far as we can learn, now survives, is a tiny book which is just of the size of a 'ruby 32<sup>mo</sup>' book of Common Prayer with hymns, or of the smallest Mechlin edition of the *Rituale Romanum*, only a little thinner in bulk, being just  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches high in its present condition since it was rebound. It was designed to serve for the space of "xviii. yerres" reckoned from Easter Day (March 28th) 1535 to Easter 1552. Before the cycle of eighteen years was ended it was presumably expected that the edition would be exhausted, the copies in use worn out, and the whole superseded by a new one. One of the earliest owners has written on a blank space opposite the illustration of the expulsion of our first parents from the Garden of Eden, and below the lesson in the *Vigiliae Mortuorum*,

Who so on me loke  
I am Thomas Metcalfe<sup>1</sup> boke.  
Therfor I praye you let me haue yt a gane.

A monogram written on the title-page looks like 'L.M.' or 'H.M.'

Another note has been written along the inner margin of the second leaf. The first line has been rendered illegible by the

<sup>1</sup> The name Metcalf occurs frequently in north country wills. See, for instance, that of T. Metcalf, citizen and goldsmith of London, who on his deathbed in 1576 remembered the poor of his Yorkshire birthplace, Bagby, *North C. Wills*, ii. 222. Thomas Metcalfe, chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and founder of the house of Metcalfe of Nappa was brother to Myles Metcalf, registrar of the city of York, buried in the transept of York Minster in 1486, *Test. Ebor.* iv. 9 n. Cf. iii. 127 n. where a Thomas Metcalfe occurs as living in 1491. The surname occurs frequently in the later volumes also, in many localities. Cf. *Wills and Inv.* iii. 44 n. (1568).



Victorian binder, so that we can only make out tentatively "...att nontingam (or 'Wint'yngam'), Bri[an] [or 'Pru[e]] ffarfax buke. Theyrfor' I pray you lett me haue it a gane."

In the lower margin, later on in the little volume, a series of numerals has been inscribed, as if for casting a nativity, or for some other calculation, on sig. *N. ij.*, underneath the 5th lesson of the *Vigiliae Mortuorum* ('Homo natus de muliere').

3	5	6	7	8	4
2	1	4	5	6	7
3	7	9	1	7	8
<hr/>					
70	80	90			
.100.					

The earliest marks of ownership occur in the same section of the book, in the sheets with the misprinted signature, marked "Ebrorum" "K" and "Ebrorum" "M," in the places where one owner has written carefully an inverted W (for his surname, *Watte*)<sup>1</sup>, and has surmounted it by the familiar flag of St John the Baptist's *Agnus Dei*<sup>2</sup>, like the figure 4 reversed, the transverse bar terminating in a well-drawn  $\boxtimes$  with a floriated decoration at the finish on the dexter side. He has added his name "George Watte," the initial *G* being placed upon the upright staff of the flag and cross<sup>3</sup>, much as the Venetian printer Gabriel de Grassis placed his initial *G* upon the (primatial) cross based on the letter A, as employed in his device long before, in 1485. We may infer that G. Watte was a north country merchant. He (or some member of his family) has written again, though less carefully, his



<sup>1</sup> John What, vicar of St Cuthbert's, Ormesby, made his will, and died, in 1402. *Test. Ebor.* i. 301. The form 'Wattēs' occurs in northern wills of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. T. Wattes of 'Nottingham' in 1497 (iii. 185 n.), 'Sir John Wates' at Rither in 1520 (v. 127), parson of Easington ('Sir J. Wattes'), 1538, 'Sir' John and 'John Wattes and his wif' at Hutton Granswick, 1540 (vi. 79, 113). Cf. *North Country Wills*, i. 96, a grocer, 1518.

<sup>2</sup> See *British Museum Guide to the Mediæval Room*, pp. 199-200.

<sup>3</sup> While the printer Francis Regnault has a streamer flying from his Elephant and Castle, several Salisbury service books printed for Francis Birkman of Cologne (e.g. the Manual of 1515 and the Gradual of 1528) show the flag and cross rising from the monogram M (or W) A, on a shield in the top corner of the device the Kings of Cologne, St Ursula and the Maccabees.

flag and cross, rising from the inverted W, along the lower margin of two other leaves (M. i. *verso*, and M. 6. *verso*) in the Vigils of the Dead. In the latter instance he has once more signed his name in full, but in order to get it into the narrow space he has been obliged to write it along the banner-pole, and not in connexion with the initial G which crosses it. After he had written the inverted W the book was carelessly closed (and thus the opposite leaf in both instances took off an impression) before he had drawn the device above it. The nineteenth century binder has disguised this fact by shuffling the order of some leaves. The only other writings in the book are these: a (?) musical memorandum, on K. 7. (the book has no numerical pagination); the words, "Son Thomas," on P. i. *verso*, in the *Commendationes Mortuorum*; lastly, on Q. i. *verso*, the business-like memorandum of a balance,—“in store, *li. vij. xvjs. viijd.*”

The book was presumably in the press at Rouen while Thomas Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More were confined in the Tower of London, awaiting judgement (and their executions), in the summer of 1535.

Its text however bears no symptom of the coming changes in Church and State. The last page was not printed until 1536. After it reached the northern province neither George Watte nor Thomas Metcalfe, nor any subsequent possessor has taken any very serious notice of the order to omit the commemoration of "Thomas Becket, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury," conveyed in Henry VIII's 15th injunction of 1538, or of the proclamation in November 1539 to put out the saint's name and festival and to suppress his title of saintship. In the kalendar it is partially erased in December, but left quite intact in July. Some slight attention was indeed shown to the effect of letters, sent to the Bishops by the King, in June 1535, shortly before this little book was issued; for the obnoxious word *papa* has been (somewhat gently) inked out, where it occurs in the *Horæ* kalendar. The intercession for *domnum apostolicum* in the Litany has escaped attention. 'Our Archbishop,' who (as in the York Breviary) was prayed for in the Litany, was at that time Edward Lee (1531-44), the king's almoner, who at first encouraged the Pilgrimage of Grace and himself, with many others, joined in taking the oath in Pomfret Castle on October 20th, 1536. But on Monday Nov. 27th he declared in a sermon in the church at Pomfret that he no longer approved of the rising. In 1537 he was employed with Cranmer and others in compiling a book of devotion and instruction, *The Institution of a Christian Man*, known as 'the Bishops' Book,' the contents of which in the following year in his 3rd injunction he charged the 'curates' of his diocese to study and to 'declare.' His 6th injunction directed them to teach their flock the *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*,

Creed and Ten Commandments in the English tongue. Our little book contains comparatively little which was composed in the mother tongue, but in the 'forme of confessyon,' included in the English instructions at the end, a portion is based on the order of 'the *x. commaundementes*,' which, however are not quoted. *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Credo* are indicated (in the Latin only) but not printed in full at the end of the prayers of St Bridget and of the Rosary, it being apparently assumed that the 'lettered' lay-folk<sup>1</sup> knew them by heart. In the christening service the priest charged the godmothers to take care that the child was taught *Pater noster*, *Ave Maria* and *Credo in Deum* (the Lord's Prayer, the Angelic Salutation and the Symbol of the Faith) and how to bless himself with the sign of the cross<sup>2</sup>. From the time of Bede and Archbishop Egbert, A.D. 735, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer were taught in York diocese to their parishioners by the parish priests<sup>3</sup> and these forms with the Litany and other prayers are found in the tenth century Psalters, appended to the psalms and canticles<sup>4</sup>. Somewhat later they are indicated by the first and last words, as familiar forms, in the *Horae* in English MSS. of the eleventh century<sup>5</sup>, where the first portion of the *Ave* also appears as an invitory<sup>6</sup> or an antiphon<sup>7</sup> or a verse<sup>8</sup>. It is indicated for separate recitation besides, the words 'Ave Maria gratia plena' or 'Ave Maria' being given as a sufficient clue for those who were doubtless familiar with the form in their individual private devotions, from which apparently (to judge from interlineations in Cotton MS. Tiberius A. iii.) this salutation was gradually establishing its specific position in the eleventh century in the Hours of the B. Virgin<sup>9</sup>.

In early days the Psalter became, and for a long period continued to be, a sort of receiving-house for devotions which were

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 'To euery chyld lernyd, 1. d.' *Test. Ebor.* iv. 41 (1489); 'to every unlearned man j. d.' v. 132 (1521). 'To vi pore men that can say our Lady's Psalter & holde a torche, and Dirige and Messe;...clerkes that can say the vii Psalms and Latyne†' (i.e. the Litany), v. 74 (1516). W. Maskell quotes from the inscription on a fifteenth century brass in Spofforth Church in Yorkshire: All who pass by are requested to say a *De profundis* 'if you lettered be.' But

'If thou be unlearned and cannot reed,  
For our soules and all crysten soules med  
Saye a paternoster and ave and a crede.'

(*Mon. Rit.* iii. p. lii n., ed. 1882.)

<sup>2</sup> York Manual, p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Bede's Letter to Egbert, *Works* (ed. J. A. Giles, 1843), i. pp. cxxvi, 114, 116.

<sup>4</sup> Two tenth century Psalters (MSS. 150, 180) in Salisbury Cathedral Library. *Psalteria* occur in *Durham Catalogi Veteres*, pp. 5, 9, 13, 14, 37-9, 41, 51, 79, 88-9, 114-16, 135. *Psalter of the Holy Ghost and B. V. Mary*, p. 38.

<sup>5</sup> E. S. Dewick's *Facsimiles of Horae* de B. V. M. eleventh cent., H. B. Soc. pp. 17, 27, 35 (*Credo*); 4, 7, 17, 19, 27, 31, 33, 34, 35, 40, 45, 46 (*Pater noster*).

<sup>6</sup> *id.* pp. 11; 32.

<sup>7</sup> *id.* pp. 3; 19.

<sup>8</sup> *id.* pp. 5; 21.

<sup>9</sup> *id.* pp. 7, 10; 28, 29, 32, 33; and interlined later, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17 (*Ave*). On p. 17 the scribe at first misplaced the cue.

destined to be collected in the books known as *Horae*, or *Prymers*<sup>1</sup>, and which in due course, by reason of the invention of printing and other causes, are found by the close of the fifteenth century at all events to have acquired a specific table of contents. The contents of the York *Horae* (like those of other Uses) came to be fixed as definitely (for all practical purposes) as the contents of the Roman Missal or Breviary, or the English Prayer Book, were destined to become settled by the latter part of the sixteenth century. While their main contents were virtually fixed, the *Horae* (no less than the other books just mentioned) acquired certain fresh accretions as time went on, while the modifications in their main items were at the most comparatively slight. To some minds the accretions form the most interesting features in the book.

In his masterly essay *On the Origin of the Prymer* the late Mr Edmund Bishop has taught us to understand in what order in point of time the "practically unvarying elements" of the *Horae* or *Prymer* came to be brought together. In giving here a summary of these elements we shall enumerate those which in combination have contributed to make up our *Prymers* in Latin (and English) in general and in particular the York *Horae* or *Prymers*, among which is this book of 1536, printed at Rouen by Nicolas le Roux for Jehan Marchant who dwelt and carried on his business before the Church of St Machutus, or Maclou, at the sign of the two unicorns who are depicted as the supporters to the shield bearing his initials I. M. on the title-page. The name of Jehan Gropal<sup>2</sup> is

<sup>1</sup> In like manner the Sacramentaries first, and then the Missals, were the repositories which served to gather (over and above the Eucharistic rite of the Liturgy) the materials which as time went on were destined to form a nucleus for the *Manuale* or Ritual of Offices for the Special Occasions of administering the other Sacraments and Sacramentals such as Holy Baptism, Confirmation, Weddings, Penance, Unction (as well as Communion) of the Sick, Funerals, Holy Water, &c. With such blessings as these the Church followed her children in their daily life. To some extent the Sacramentaries served also to prepare material for the future development of the *Processionale*. When the *Missale* grew out of the Sacramentary, some of these items for 'occasional' needs continued to *adhere*, naturally and conveniently, to the mass-book which contained the Eucharistic Liturgy serving for worship daily throughout the year.

<sup>2</sup> The name 'Gropal' is misprinted 'Groyat' by Hoskins in transcribing the colophon. *Primers*, p. 46.

Nic. le Roux appears to have had his press in the Rue de Ruissel at Rouen, cir. 1530-57. (E. Hoskins, *Primers*, p. 575, col. b.) Besides this York 16<sup>mo</sup> of 1536, Hoskins mentions several *Primers* or other books of devotion printed by Le Roux, but for other booksellers or merchants, as follows:—

No. 117\*, pp. 44, 93. English and Latin. The late Mr Dewick's imperfect copy. (For Franc. Regnault of Paris). 8<sup>vo</sup>, cir. 1535.

No. 123, p. 46. Hore Ebor. Latin. For J. Gropal and J. Marchant, Rouen. 16°. 1536.

No. 125, p. 47. Prymer of Salisbury use. Latin. For Jac. Cousin, par. of S. Vincent, Rouen (vellum). 1537.

No. 132, p. 49. Prymer of Salisbury use. Latin. For Franc. Regnault of Paris. 8<sup>vo</sup>. 1538.



also mentioned as his partner in the colophon to this little book which is represented in the present volume.

The earliest growth which Mr Bishop traced was a *cursus*, or set of special devotions drawn up on the lines of the canonical hours of prayer and appended to them by devout persons in monastic communities, and by others who followed their example, and finally imposed upon the secular clergy. The earliest *cursus* was, as it appears, that which was framed quite early in the ninth century, in honour of All Saints. This earliest product presently fell off (or was deliberately pruned away) from the fast-growing tree of western devotion in which it presently gave place to others which supplanted it. It has left at all events no evidence of its existence in the *Horae* or Prymers with which we are concerned. In the York books and in others of like character—so far, at all events, as the main contents or invariable items of the *Horae* are concerned—the memory of All Hallows (conjointly) appears only in the brief Suffrage of the Litany, ‘*Omnes sancti et sanctae Dei orate pro nobis.*’ Of course the simple kalendar and the quatrains of the months did not fail to indicate their annual festival (originally the commemoration of all Martyrs) on the 1<sup>st</sup> of November, observed in the Pantheon at Rome in the ninth century, and introduced in due course into the liturgy and the divine service at York as these are prescribed in the Missal (ii. 120–2) and the Breviary (ii. columns 645–59). But when we come to Prymer devotions it is only as late as 1528 that an *Officium omnium sanctorum* first occurs in print, and this is in an *Enchiridion* or *Orarium*<sup>1</sup> of Salisbury ‘use’ or character. A long prayer, ‘*O vos omnes sancti et sanctae*’ had appeared in print as early as the Sarum *Horae* of 1494, and in the York *Horae* of 1517–18, after the suffrages of St Barbara, the Eleven Thousand Virgins, St Apollonia and St Dorothy.

The fact that “one *cursus* in honour of St Mary, the Mother of God: another in honour of the Holy Cross, and a third in honour of All Saints” existed in the Latin Church about the year 970, has been proved in Mr Bishop’s excursus *On the Origin of the*

No. 135, pp. 50, 174–5. Prymer of Salisbury use. English. For Franc. Regnault.

No. 138, pp. 50, 175. Prymer in Englyshe and in Laten. Printer’s name not expressly stated; nor merchant’s. 8<sup>vo</sup>. 1538.

No. 139, pp. 51, 175. Prymer in Englishe and in Laten. Imprinted in Rowen.... 8<sup>vo</sup>. 1538.

No. 197, pp. 68–9. Prymer of Salisbury use. Latin. For Ro. Valentin, bookseller in porch of our Lady, Rouen. 8<sup>vo</sup>. 1551.

<sup>1</sup> The term ‘*hoc orarium*’ (or ‘*hoc presens orarium*’) occurs in books of Salisbury Hours printed in 1528, 1530, 1533 and 1546, and ‘*contenta in his horariis*’ in 1525. (See Hoskins, *Prymers*). Even the great Sarum Breviaries of 1516 and 1531 bear as part of their description ‘*Breviarium seu horarium domesticum: sive choro ecclesiastico deserviens*’ &c.—containing of course those canonical hours of divine service to the recitation whereof the clergy in holy orders were committed from the time of their subdiaconate.



*Prymer*. This was written in answer to an enquiry from the late Dr Frederic J. Furnivall and printed originally in 1897 for the Early English Text Society as introductory to Part II. of one of Mr Henry Littlehales' works on *The 'Prymer in English, or Prayer Book of the Lay People in the Middle Ages'*:—books which are very serviceable to any of us who are interested in the study of the *Horae* in either or both of those languages which were most commonly read and heard in the churches and oratories of this land. Mr Littlehales' books are in their measure helpful also to those who may be studying the books of devotion written in the French of olden time. Mr Bishop's essay may now be consulted in his monumental volume of *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918), pp. 211–37. In it this admirable scholar has bidden us to find the moving spirit, which gave the first great impulse to such devotions, in the person of a Benedictine monk of independent energy, and one who had been in early manhood indoctrinated in—and imbued with—‘the more rigid or fervent monastic teaching of the East, the words of St Basil, the discipline of Pachomius.’

It was then, as we have been thus taught, the later Benedict, St Benedict of Aniane, a monk of Gothic extraction, who lived in 751–821, and became a statesman and a courtier, to whom we are to look back as to the originator of this system of devotions. To him we are to attribute first of all the institution of reciting

- (1) “**The Fifteen Psalms**” of Degrees, the *xv psalmi* [*graduum*], or *psalmi graduales*,

which he denoted by the name of *trina oratio*, the psalms in question being divided into three groups of five psalms apiece, and which appear as one distinctive item in some Prymers. They are not to be found, however, in more than one of the York books known to us nor can they be regarded as an item invariably occurring in the *Horae* or *Prymer* from the fourteenth (or close of the thirteenth)<sup>1</sup> century onwards. We find, however,—

- (2) and (3) **The Seven (Penitential) Psalms with Litanies.**

These were a devotion with which Benedict of Aniane and his monks were already familiar under the Rule of the Great St Benedict of Nursia, as it was practised at Monte Cassino in the latter half of the eighth century. The Books of Hours provide for their constant repetition by the lay folk, as the Breviary also enjoined them for the clergy. In the next place St Benedict of Aniane is credited, though less directly, with the institution of a constant daily recital of

<sup>1</sup> The Fitzwilliam MS. 47 consists partly of an English *Horae* written cir. 1280–1300.

## (4) The Office of the Dead,

consisting, as we find it in our York Prymer and elsewhere, of Matins (*Dirige*, known as 'the Dirge,' from the first word of its antiphon), with Lauds (*Exultabunt ossa*, and Psalms, *Miserere*, &c.) and Vespers or Evensong of the Dead (*Placebo* with the psalms *Dilexi*, &c.). Originally here as in other instances, the Evensong preceded the Matin Office.

Although the Office of the Dead was not immediately accepted in the year 817 by the abbots whom Benedict of Aniane then met in council, when he had been empowered to regulate among other matters the devotions of their monastic houses, it may be inferred that the complete devotion of the *Officium Mortuorum*, which gained universal establishment in monasteries in or before the second half of the tenth century, had been recommended and in some places introduced early in the ninth century through the influence of the great man's authority and personality. Mr Bishop assures us that the Latin Office of the Dead (which includes the *Placebo*, *Dirige*, &c.) 'originated in the Frankish Church' and that the Verse '*Requiem aeternam*' had been (not improbably) in use in England in private devotions in the eighth century<sup>1</sup>.

St Benedict of Aniane had introduced into his own pattern monastery at Inde or Cornélîmünster an office in commemoration of All the Saints. This consisted of a special form of Vespers and Lauds, which while it did not obtain a long lease of permanency, but (as we have already stated) fell presently into disuse, requires to be mentioned here: because it set the fashion for framing commemorative services on the lines of the hours of the Divine Office or of the Office of the Dead with its Evensong, Matins, &c.

One of the most noticeable of these imitations (so to call them) was the *cursus* of the Holy Rood, or Hours of the Crucifixion, usually called Hours of the Holy Cross or of the Passion of our Lord. Another, which was closely associated with it, was the devotional course of Hours of the Blessed Virgin. Of these two, the Hours of St Mary came to fill the more important place, and at least from the tenth century onwards, though subject for some time to local variations, retained its elements practically unchanged and unimpaired. Its Psalms, Lessons and Hymns continued from the tenth century to give or maintain for it a liturgical or ritual

<sup>1</sup> E. Bishop, "Spanish Symptoms," *Liturg. Hist.* pp. 189, 190. On Benedict of Aniane's influence with (and under) Lewis the Pious, Charlemagne's son and (A.D. 814-20) successor but previously appointed by him King of the old Gothic kingdom of Aquitaine, see '*Origin of the Prymer*,' *Lit. Hist.* pp. 212-13. H. Bradshaw has told us what prayers a Frankish queen used in the ninth century. See the Early Collection of Canons ('*Hibernensis*'), edited, separately from Bradshaw's 'Collected Papers,' by Dr F. Jenkinson, Camb. 1893, pp. 52, 54.

shape similar to that of the canonical hours, so that it could in its fuller form be appended to that office hour by hour, while a simpler and a shorter form (such as we find in the Prymer), selected from its contents could be read over by lay folk (reading perhaps at least as slowly as the clergy sang their more lengthy psalmody) during the times that lay people could spend in church. Under some circumstances 'Matins of our Lady' and other portions of the Prymer were also read by devout persons in their private chambers and oratories, so far as possible at regular hours.

### (5) The Hours of the Holy Cross.

We are not prepared to deal here with the history or contents of the early *cursus* of the Holy Cross which Mr Bishop proves to have been used about A.D. 970. It may suffice for our present purpose to say that it seems to have died out before the period when the Prymer grew into existence. The *cursus* of the Holy Rood is indeed in evidence, there is a suffrage *de S. cruce* at Lauds of the Office of the Blessed Virgin, and such prayers for personal use as '*Crux triumphalis*,' '*O pie crucifixe*' (before the rood), and 'a prayer of the .vij. wordes that our lorde Jesu sayd on the crosse' are provided in other parts of the book of 1536. There is indeed a brief *cursus* or office of Hours of the Cross, and here and there the words '*de cruce*,' in the headline of a page, draw attention to it at one or another of the seven hours, but it has not the characteristics of the offices of earlier origin—psalm and lesson, psalm and lesson—nor is there any 'office-hymn' of the ordinary type provided for the hours. This Office of the Cross is intertwined with the Hours of St Mary:—i.e. Matins with Lauds of the Virgin are followed immediately by Lauds of the Cross, and Prime of the Virgin is followed by Prime of the Cross, and so on. The Office of the Cross is largely metrical, and therefore adapted for remaining in the memory, for its most noticeable feature is '*Patris Sapientia, Veritas Divina*,' a narrative poem in eight stanzas which may with probability be attributed to Egidius (or Gilles), Archbishop of Bourges, who died in 1316, and which is said in one MS. to have, attached to its devout recitation, an indulgence of 300 days' pardon, granted by John XXII (Pope in 1316–34)<sup>1</sup>.

One stanza apiece was assigned for (Matins with) Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, Nones, Evensong and Compline out of this metrical composition, the 8th stanza being reserved as a 'Recommendation'

<sup>1</sup> Another MS. attributes *Patris Sapientia* to John's own authorship, while a third assigns it to his successor, Benedict XII, 1334–42. Dr Neale liked to think it a twelfth century hymn. J. F. Mone, *Hymni Medii Aevi*, i. 107–8; J. Julian, *Dict. Hymnol.*

at the close of the day. *Patris Sapientia*, thus subdivided, serves for the 'Hours of the Cross,' or of 'the Passion,' in honour of our Lord 'at Matins bound, at Prime reviled': the concluding stanza begins '*Has horas canonicas, cum devotione*,' &c. The whole office forms a short and simple Devotion, the stanza of each separate hour having appended to it in every case the orison, 'O Lord Jesu Christ, Son of the Living God, interpose Thy Passion, Cross and Death between Thy judgement and our souls,' &c., introduced in each case by the V. 'We adore Thee, O Christ, and bless Thee.' R. 'Because by Thy holy Cross Thou hast redeemed the world.' A brief petition (the 'absolutio,' *Gloriosa passio*) concludes each 'hour' of the set.

The Hours of the Cross (the Passion of Our Lord) are found in the York Minster MS. xvi. K. 6, cir. 1420<sup>1</sup>, and in all the complete copies of the printed editions of the sixteenth century, as well as in Sarum books. It is found in the Durham MS. also (*Memoria de Passione Jesu Christi*)<sup>2</sup>. It was presumably somewhat later than the adoption of this memorial office of the Passion, that a similarly constructed office,—the Hours of the Compassion of the Blessed Virgin,—was introduced. We shall refer to it in a later section, as it is mentioned in the original *tabula* or list of contents of our York Prymer.

In the codicil (14 Mar. 1453-4) to his will John lord Scrope of Masham and Upsal bequeathed to his daughter Alianor "ane Englissh boke of y<sup>e</sup> Pater Noster glosid, with Matynes of y<sup>e</sup> Passion" (*Test. Ebor.* ii. 190).

#### (6) The Office (or Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary).

Although as Mr Dewick pointed out "Mr Edmund Bishop in his learned essay 'On the Origin of the Prymer' (p. xxvi), has not brought forward any mention of the recitation of a *cursus* in honour of St Mary earlier than the tenth century" the recitation of 'offices of all the hours *in honore almae Dei genitricis*' was spoken of by Peter Damian in one of his letters written about 1056. Mr Dewick, towards the end of his laborious and modestly generous life, edited the facsimiles of two eleventh century manuscripts preserved in the British Museum<sup>3</sup> so that we can now read and study the earliest examples of the Hours of the Blessed Virgin preserved in English MSS. One of them came from St Mary's (Nunnaminster), Winchester, the other from Christ Church, Canterbury. Both of them in date are earlier than the First Crusade. They differ from one another

<sup>1</sup> This York MS. xvi. K. 6, is styled by Mr Littlehales 'M.' or '16 G. 5.' the paper ticket on the back being indistinctly written and worn.

<sup>2</sup> *Structure of the Durham Prymer*, H. Littlehales (E.E.T.S.) ii. pp. lxxxv-vii.

<sup>3</sup> Facsimiles of *Horae de Beata Maria Virgine*... edited for the Henry Bradshaw Society (large 4<sup>to</sup>) 1902, by Edward Samuel Dewick, M.A., F.S.A.



in some of their component parts: and to some very slight extent even in their selections of psalms, as well as in the assignment of the hymns. They have different collects except for the hour of Nones. They differ also as regards the sources from which their lessons (three in number in each MS.) are derived. The *preces* however are shown to have been drawn from a common origin, and the offices in which they occur in the two MSS. resemble one another in general structure—being formed in either case ‘after the model of the normal services of the hours’—as well as in many details, as Mr Henry Littlehales had already pointed out.

One point which bears on the history of the *Horæ* is brought out by Mr Dewick. He notes that while the Service of Our Lady in the Winchester MS. (cir. 1070) appears to have been written for public or united conventual use, the Canterbury MS. (written about a generation earlier) is evidently adapted for private recitation, as was also the office found in the Cottonian MS. Titus D. xxvii. a MS. also of the eleventh century,—the office *in honore sanctae Mariæ* occurring in this MS. (cir. 1034–57)<sup>1</sup> is not however a complete *cursus* for all the canonical hours, but was apparently adapted for private use as time might serve. When we come to place these services in honour of the Virgin which are found in our Breviaries, or that other one, which (with local variations) appears in our Prymers, by the side of the facsimiles or the original MSS. of the eleventh century, for the purpose of comparing them together, we cannot claim that (e.g.) the Breviary Offices are derived from the Winchester MS., or that the Prymer Office of our Lady is the same as that which is in either of the eleventh century MSS. which have some devotions adapted for personal use. We can go no further than to point to the fact that in the eleventh century private devotion in honour of the Virgin, and likewise the congregational recitation of some office locally prescribed, were both of them going on. To that limited extent the latter was the prototype of the service provided in such Breviaries as *Romanum* and *Sarisburyense* for Matins and Evensong (or other Hours) in the Choir or in some other place (*‘in choro, sive extra chorum’*) daily; it was also the forerunner, in some degree, of the ‘full service’ in commemoration of the Virgin once a week on Saturday, although these may be considered as being more closely related to the annual service provided for some festival such as the Assumption. But to find a parallel in the eleventh century for the Prymer or Lay-folk’s Prayer Book, the product of the latter part of the thirteenth and the succeeding centuries, such as is contained in sixteenth century shape in the present volume, we might look rather to those MSS.

<sup>1</sup> E. Bishop, *On the Origins of the Feast of the Conception*, Lit. Hist. p. 239.



which were framed with a view to private and personal devotion. We do not, however, find the resemblance to be a marked one.

The Layman's office, with which as it is seen in the *Horae* or *Prymer* of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries we have to do, was simple. So far as we have observed, it was practically invariable within each Use, and so far as the influence of each Use extended. Nevertheless in the case of these more private devotions, no less than in the case of the Divine Office itself in days gone by, there are certain differences discoverable between Use and Use. The variations between the Hours of York as compared with those of Durham, or again between either or both of these as contrasted with the Use of Salisbury, have been tabulated, so far as concerns the fifteenth century MSS., by Mr Littlehales in *The Prymer*, part II. (Early English Text Society, Original Series No. 109, pp. lv-lx, 1897) for the York and Sarum Hours of the Blessed Virgin; and on pp. lx-lxxiv he has done the like for the other principal constituent items in the Prymers, while his pp. lxxxv-xc show the structure of the Durham MS. (B. Mus. Harl. n<sup>o</sup>. 1804) written about 1500. In 1888 Mr W. H. James Weale furnished in *The Ecclesiologist* (pp. 1-6) many notes of the differences, in the Matins of *Horae B. Mariae Virginis*, between sundry of the French diocesan Uses, and likewise those of certain Religious Orders, and the Use of Salisbury also. Dr Montague Rhodes James, now Provost of Eton, has furnished some further information in his *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge, 1895, pp. xxvii-xxix.

The following Table of Differences as between the York and Salisbury *Horae*, in this Office, or *cursus*, which was composed in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and which had taken definite shape in the Prymers of those particular Uses by the end of the thirteenth century if not earlier, was kindly furnished to the present writer by Dr Henderson in 1891. The additional column relating to the Durham *Horae* is due to Mr Henry Littlehales.

Although the Responsds and their Verses to the 3 Lessons at Matins of the Virgin differ from one another in the three Uses, the Lessons themselves, '*Sancta Maria, Virgo virginum...imperpetuum*,' '*Sancta Maria, piarum piissima...peccamina*,' and '*Sancta Dei genitrix que digne meruisti...sine tempore*,' are identical for York, Durham and Salisbury, agreeing in this selection with the diocesan Uses of Amiens, Chalons, Coutances, Langres, Liège, and Rouen, and with the Carmelites and Preaching friars. (*Weale*.) In this selection they differed from the Roman, Benedictine, Cistercian, Paris, Cambrai, Le Mans, Rheims, Tours, and sundry others, which themselves have been placed by Mr Weale in a fourfold classification as regards the arrangement of lections.

Variations between the *Horae* of York, Durham and Sarum Uses.

Office of the Virgin	YORK	DURHAM	SALISBURY
AD MATUTINAS R̄. ad i. Lect.	Beata es, Virgo.	Sancta et immaculata.	Sancta et immaculata.
<i>Versus</i> R̄. ad ii. Lect.	Ave Maria. Sancta et immaculata.	Benedicta. Beata es, Virgo.	Benedicta. Beata es, Virgo.
<i>Versus</i> AD LAUDES <i>Capitulum</i>	Benedicta.	Ave Maria.	Ave Maria.
Ad Antiphonam (ante Orationem 'Concede') V. R̄.	In omnibus.	Beata es, Maria.	Maria virgo, semper laetare.
AD PRIMAM <i>Antiphona</i>	Domine, exaudi. Et clamor.	(?) (?)	Ostende nobis. Et salutare.
<i>Psalmi</i>	Quando natus.	Sancta Dei genitrix.	O admirabile.
	(1) Beatus vir. Ps. i.	(1) Deus in nomine.	(1) Deus in nomine.
	(2) Quare frem. Ps. ii.	(2) Beatus vir.	(2) Laudate Dominum.
	(3) Verba mea. Ps. iij.	(3) Quare frem.	(3) Confitemini Domino.
	(4) Laudate Dominum omnes gentes, Ps. cxvj. Vulg.	(4) Verba mea.	
AD TERTIAM <i>Antiphona</i>	Rubum, quem.	Dignare me.	Quando natus.
AD SEXTAM <i>Antiphona</i>	Germinavit.	Sub tuam.	Rubum, quem.
AD NONAM <i>Antiphona</i>	Ecce Mariagenuit.	In Prole mater.	Germinavit.
AD VESPERAS <i>Post hymnum, V.</i> R̄.	Sancta Dei. Intercede pro nobis.	Post partum. Dei genitrix.	Diffusa est. Propterea.
AD COMPLETORIUM <i>Post hymnum, V.</i> R̄.	Ecce ancilla. Fiat michi.	Ecce ancilla. Fiat michi.	Elegit eam. Et habitare.
<i>Antiphona</i> ad <i>Nunc dimittis</i>	Ecce completa sunt.	Ecce completa sunt.	Glorificamus.

The particular triad of lessons found in our English Uses has been noticed by Mr Dewick to occur in the twelfth century sources also:—B. Mus. Add. MS. 21,927 (early in the century), and a

Breviary of Monte Avellano. But the two sets of lections which appear in his eleventh century facsimiles and which begin respectively "*Ecce tu pulchra es, amica*" (in the Nunnaminster MS., Royal MS. 2 B. v., cir. 1070) from the Song of Songs<sup>1</sup>, and "*Quas igitur tibi laudes, sancta Dei genitrix*" from a sermon falsely ascribed to St Augustine (in the Ch. Ch. Canterbury MS., Cotton, Tiberius A. iii., cir. 1032-50) differ not only from one another, but also from the twelfth century set which is common likewise to our three English Uses of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Thus there is some reason for thinking that these Hours came into existence in a rudimentary state as early as the twelfth century. The blessings prefixed to the three lessons are the same for York as for Salisbury, but the same arrangement precisely occurs in none of other numerous French and other Uses tabulated by Weale. In the case of the Durham *Horae*, the benediction for the second lesson is not '*Oret mente pia*,' but '*In omni tribulatione*' which shows affinity with the Use of Paris, or else with that of Meaux.

The foregoing Table would be sufficient for the purpose of ascertaining provisionally whether any copy of a Primer or book of *Horae* which comes under the reader's notice belongs to one or another of these three Uses.

The Matins lections ('*Sancta Maria*,' &c.) mentioned above have the metrical character of a 'prose.' They may be found in the Breviary of Salisbury Use in the Little Office for daily use (by the clergy) *in conventu* (Brev. Sar. ii. 292) from Christmas to Candlemas. It may be questioned however whether they are to be found anywhere in the *Breviarium Eboracense* or in the '*Officium Parvum*' of the Roman Breviary. In his reply to Dr Furnivall's question whether the layman would find his own office *de domina* in the hours of our Lady contained in the Breviary which was provided for the clergy in particular, Mr Bishop pointed out that "on referring to a Breviary the enquirer must not expect to find" in it the Office of St Mary "exactly the same as that found in the *Prymer*."<sup>2</sup> It was with special reference to one section of that book, namely the Office of the Dead, that Mr Bishop declared that "for York the sources seem curiously defective on account especially of the paucity of interesting rubric in the York Breviary; but see vol. i. col. 213<sup>3</sup>." The like observation may be extended and applied with even greater force to the Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary: for, so far as we have been able to observe, it is the case that no place is given in the York Breviary to the daily little office in her honour,

<sup>1</sup> *Cantica Canticorum*, i. 15; ii. 10, 14:—iii. 6; iv. 11, 12:—vi. 3, 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Liturg. Histor.* p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> *u.s.* p. 232, n. 4. For two other references to York *Exequiae Defunctorum*, see *Brev.* ii. 97 and 469.

either as set out at length or even indicated in any abbreviated form or order. No hint is given in any rubric to the effect that Matins or Evensong or any of the offices *de domina* (excepting only those which were appointed on her festivals, and that also of the Saturday commemoration or 'full service') was to be said in choir, or chapel, or elsewhere, on any day of the year whatsoever.

When we come to the *Capitulum* or 'Little Chapter' at the Lauds in the Prymer Office of the Virgin, we find that out of the ten Uses compared together by Dr James only two (namely Amiens and Rouen) agree with the York *Horae* in prescribing '*In omnibus requiem*' from *Liber Ecclesiastici* of Ben Sira (xxiv. 11, 12). This passage is to be found appointed as the Little Chapter for Vespers and Lauds of the feast of the Assumption in the York Breviary (ii. 477, 484).

The Office of the Blessed Virgin Mary became the most important of all the courses of devotion outside those of the Canonical Hours collected in the Breviary. Having been in the first instance written on quires of vellum or parchment, sometimes attached to a *psalterium* or book of psalms and canticles adapted and arranged for ritual use but in some cases kept separate and known at one period as a 'Matins book,' and often provided with additional prayers either prescribed by conventual authority, or else chosen perhaps according to the judgement of the owner or the scribe, the Office of St Mary had come to be combined with the Dirge and the rest of the Office of the Dead (including the 'Commendations'), and to have the Office of the Cross appended to its hours, hour by hour, so that the two offices—of St Mary and of the Cross—have been said to be 'intertwined.' The Litany<sup>1</sup>, which in early days had been attached to Psalters, was appended to the intertwined Hours; and likewise the Seven (Penitential) Psalms, which in the Prymer were prefixed to the Litany, as they are in the Breviary of Salisbury<sup>2</sup>. It may have been to show special honour to the Hours of the Virgin, or perhaps in consideration of those being in regular daily request, or else in order to follow the precedent exhibited in other books,

<sup>1</sup> The general history of the Litany is beyond our scope and is dealt with in other books. The York Litany of the Prymer is the same as is found in the York Breviary, having its special petition for the Archbishop. The list of saints invoked is a short one. Cuthbert is addressed in the Sarum Prymer, but not Wilfrid, William, or Hilda, who appear in the York book. Guthlac occurs in the Sarum Prymer, but not in our York book.

<sup>2</sup> The Fifteen (Gradual) Psalms were not so invariably included in the Prymers. They are found in one of the MSS. described by Mr Littlehales (York Minster, xvi. K. 6) but not in the other three. They are not included in our little book of 1536.

In the York Breviary the *septem psalmi* are mentioned incidentally (i. col. 287) but not printed collectively. In the Hereford Breviary (i. p. 262) they are specified by their first words. Of the "Psalms of the Passion" we shall speak presently.



that the Hours of St Mary are in the Prymer placed first in order, i.e. before the rest of the invariable items included in the book. At all events it took its place permanently and prominently in the Books of Hours, giving its special and predominant title to the *Horae* as a whole, which in common parlance at York as elsewhere in England came to be known also as the '*primarium*,' the '*primarius liber*,' or 'the Prymer.'

The Office of the Blessed Virgin Mother having thus come to occupy the most important place in the devotions of this and other countries,—of course outside those of the altar service of the Missal and excepting also the Canonical Hours of the Breviary—the hour service of St Mary gave to our little York book, and likewise to many similar collections in York, Salisbury, Durham, Paris, Rouen, Coutances and numerous other "Uses," their distinctive titles of "*HORAE beatae Mariae virginis, secundum usum ecclesiae Eboracensis*" (or "*Sarisburiensis*," or as the case might be); or of "*HORAE B. V. MARIAE (&c.) cum multis aliis orationibus*."

Many such '*other prayers*' will be found interspersed in groups among the five or six '*invariable items*' which go to make up these books known for the sake of brevity as *Horae* or "Prymers." Besides those which were thus interlarded, some of the '*other prayers*' will be found prefixed to the first office (usually, as in the present book of 1536, with a KALENDAR in prose or in verse or in both: with sometimes an almanack containing miscellaneous information, before these introductory prayers) while again some fresh accretions and accessions of such other devotions would be announced and advertised in the title-pages and colophons in successive new editions improved and enlarged, as being '*in fine adjectis*,'—added as a supplement at the end of the volume, before or after the *tabula* of its contents.

Among accretions thus gathered in the Prymers attention must be drawn to such as have the form of distinct "Offices" as well as to those which, being composed on the lines of the seven hours of prayer, even aspire to the title of *Horae* in themselves. Among these a few adopted the names or the positions originally held by certain '*courses*' of prayer which Mr Bishop has shown to have been introduced before the Norman Conquest and after a while to have been discarded and forgotten.

(i) *Hours of the Holy Ghost*, were known and used in the north of England in the fourteenth century. This we infer from the fact that a '*psalterium cum psalteriis Spiritus Sancti, S. Crucis et B. Marie Virginis*' is included in 1391 among the '*psalters without glosses*' in the inventory of the spendiment or inner library at Durham, in the Treasury in the cloisters under the abbey



Dormitory<sup>1</sup>. Again, in 1438 Alianor Roos of Ingmanthorp bequeathed 'unum Primarium de Sancto Spiritu' to Isabella Roos<sup>2</sup>. The Hours of the Holy Ghost appear in the Sarum *Horae* printed by P. Pigouchet for S. Vostre at Paris on vellum in 1498, but not in the York books now surviving.

(ii) *Hours of the Compassion of our Lady*. These 'hours' are promised in the original table of contents in our York book of 1536, where we are told that it contains (after 'an almanacke and a kalender' and a collection of private devotions from 'your vprysynge' till 'thou begynnest to praye') three offices which were often intertwined. These are here called (a) 'Matyns of our lady. Pryme and houres/with (b) the houres of the passyon of our lorde/and (c) the compassyon of our lady.' But when we turn to the text itself we meet with disappointment. The Rouen printer has given (a) and (b) but has omitted (c), the Hours of the Compassion, which ought to have been printed as a supplementary office next to (b)—which the book itself usually styles briefly '*de cruce*' in the case of the lesser hours, or '*ad matutinas* (or *vesperas*, or *completorium*) *de cruce*' at lauds, &c. We know from other books what the service of 'the Compassion' was, and how it formed, as it were, a third strand, making with the usual office of St Mary and that of the Cross and Passion a threefold cord of offices intertwined. As each hour in the office *de cruce* was centred round a stanza taken from the "*Patris Sapientia*," so the office of the Compassion was constructed principally from the seven verses of one of the metrical compositions which detail the Sorrows of the Virgin Mother foretold by Symeon<sup>3</sup>. The first stanza—here assigned to Lauds of the Compassion begins thus:

'*Matris cor virgineum threna totum trivit.*'

Our little book of 1536 supplies a quaint series of quatrains in English, e.g. at Lauds: 'How Mary the moder and virgin Visyted Elizabeth wyf of Zachari': &c., under the illustrations which depict (after the picture of Pentecost, for Matins) various mysteries (joyful, sorrowful, or glorious) for each hour, connected with the Mother of

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogi Vett.* p. 38. ('fo. ii<sup>o</sup>. sum et exurexi'=Ps. iii. 5.) Cf. *Account Rolls*, iii. 968.

<sup>2</sup> *Test. Ebor.* ii. 65. A MS. (n<sup>o</sup>. 258) at Trin. Coll. Camb., of French execution cir. 1440, has Hours of the Holy Ghost as its first item. They occur also in other *Horae*, of Paris, Rouen, Flemish, or Italian provenance, in the library of the same college, n<sup>os</sup>. 269, 275, 285-6, 1086, 1393.

<sup>3</sup> H. A. Daniel gives another poem *de Compassione Mariae*:—*Consolatrix pauperum, coelica regina, Audit captum Filium hora matutina*' (*Thesaur. Hymn.* i. 338-9), but neither he nor Mone printed '*Matris cor virgineum*,' which likewise escaped Hoskins when his Index of Rhythms found in the Prymer was made. It is found in Sarum Prymers printed in 1494, 1506, 1523 and 1535 6. The curious reading, or misprint, '*trina + totum trivit*' occurs in 1523, and possibly in other editions not recently or thoroughly examined by us.

our Lord. Some of these have been torn out of the unique copy at Lincoln, but the missing pages can hardly have allowed space for any hour of the Compassion to appear on it, although the table of contents would lead us to expect to find the office or a seventh part of it in these places, the majority of which remain to disappoint us<sup>1</sup>.

(iii) *Horae dulcissimi nominis Jesu*. We are told in a rubric in the fifteenth century York Missal at York Minster (xvi. i. 3.) printed by Dr Henderson (*Missal*, ii. 216) that Robert Hallam, Bp. of Salisbury (who met his death prematurely at Gottlieb Castle during the Council of Constance 4 Sept. 1417) encouraged, by a pardon of 40 days granted from Sherborne Castle, Dorset, 19 July, 1411, the mass of the 'honey-sweet' name of Jesus (*melliflui*) as it is called in the Fitzwilliam (York) Missal which was written about 1470. (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS. 34.) This votive mass was apparently encouraged also at Salisbury by another Bishop there, likewise named Robert (Neville) from the same castle, 19th July, 1431, according to the statement in a Sarum Missal belonging to Mr J. Meade Falkner<sup>2</sup>. The office for the (*novum*) *festum Nominis Jesu* was printed as a new supplement to the Sarum Breviary in 1493 as H. Bradshaw pointed out. The '*Horae dulcissimi nominis Jesu*,' were printed in Salisbury books of Hours, in 1503, and cir. 1523 (by P. Kaetz), and later in Marshall's Prymer in 1536. They appear also in the York *Horae* in 4<sup>to</sup>, 1516 (ff. 190-205), and 1517-18 (ff. cxlii-vj). In these the Evensong of the Holy Name is styled 'Vesperae in veneratione nominis Jesu,' editae a devoto Ricardo de Hampole; et completorium. fo. cxlvj. '*Salutem mentis*,' &c. Richard Rolle the hermit died in 1349. Passages which relate to the Name of Jesus, 'swete as hony,' occur in his *Prose Treatises* (E.E.T.S. p. 43), or in those of his followers such as Gatryge, Nassington and Hilton (C. Horstman,

<sup>1</sup> We have supplied the Sarum form of the Hours of the Compassion of our Lady in the notes to pp. 47, 49, 52, 54, 56, 59 and 62, below.

<sup>2</sup> The identity of the month and day (19th July), suggests the possibility of some confusion between the dates 1411 and 1431 on the part of the scribe of one of these manuscripts: and possibly between the two Roberts, Hallam and Neville. The latter however may have deliberately chosen to issue his grant on the anniversary of his predecessor's grant, and just at the time of year when a notice given would reach the clergy and induce them to use the votive service on or about the 7<sup>th</sup> of August, the date which was eventually fixed by authority for the annual feast of the Most Holy Name. However, even in 1497 (as the Dean of Wells kindly informs me) Abp John Morton ordered the 7<sup>th</sup> to be observed for the *Transfiguration* throughout his province. *Regist. Stillington*, Wells, ff. 149<sup>b</sup>. The Bp of London, who was Dean of the Provincial College, transmitted the order to the bishop of Wells; *id.* f. 141<sup>b</sup>. In 1520, Robert Roose, a husbandman at Rudston, near Bridlington, bequeaths a quarter of barley to buy for the parish church [the services for] the feasts of the Transfiguration, Name of Jesus and Visitation. *Test. Ebor.* v. 116-17.

*R. Rolle* &c. 1895, i. 106. 'encomium nominis Jesu' ib. ii. pp. xl, 186-191).

(iv) *Horae Conceptionis B. Mariae V.* These appear in the York Prymer of 1517-18 (fo. 71), and in those of Salisbury printed in 1523 (fo. cxxxvj) and 1535-6 (fo. 68 verso). They begin (after the usual *Domine, labia* &c.) with the hymn '*Deus qui cunctum hominem de limo terrae creavit: et ad similitudinem suam propriam formavit*' &c., one stanza for each hour.

(v) *Officium sanctissimae Trinitatis*, as also

(vi) *Officium de Omnibus Sanctis*,

(vii) *Horae de Sacramento [altaris]*, and

(viii) *Horae die Sabbati de B. V. Maria*, are prefixed to the Prymer called 'Enchiridion' or 'Orarium' printed on vellum by (Jolande Bonhomme) the widow of Thielman Kerver, for Alard Plomier (Paris) in 1528, for use in England. These do not belong specifically to York, but yet it seems desirable to mention them in the present connexion in order to render our list of such 'Offices' and 'Hours' as complete as we can make it. The reader will find that 'other prayers' with the like intention to the offices just named, but cast in a different mould, do appear in the pages of our book and are named in its Contents. It may help the student also to understand the somewhat perplexing distinction between the sundry Offices or Hours of the Virgin if we refer him to the account given by Mr Edgar Hoskins on a page of his *Prymers* (p. 106), which being in small type is perhaps too apt to be overlooked.

In order to draw attention to these 'Hours' and 'Offices,' which may claim to be formed on the lines of the Canonical Hours, but which are not found in every Prymer, and thinking it best to deal with them immediately after the invariable items the Hours of St Mary and of the Cross, we have deferred our mention of one item which occurs in all the Prymers.

### (7) The Commendations.

This is the name given to the long psalm, *Beati immaculati* (Ps. 118 in the Latin Vulgate = cxix. in the Hebrew division), recited with a concluding orison as supplementary to the Dirge. Testators who gave full directions as to prayers to be made for them after their death sometimes specified the Commendations, as well as *Placebo*, *Dirige*, mass of *Requiem*, &c.: for example, John Barnyngton, Treasurer of the Minster in 1457<sup>1</sup>; W. Boston of Newark, chaplain, who in 1466 prescribed the saying of Commendations daily<sup>2</sup>, as in 1501 J. Holme of Aldborough in Holderness<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Testamenta Ebor.* ii. 204-5.

<sup>2</sup> *id.* 283.

<sup>3</sup> *Northern Wills*, II. 77.

In 1506 Edward, lord Hastings and Hungerford, desired these psalms to be recited every week<sup>1</sup>. In the careful directions<sup>2</sup> left by Sir W. Bulmer for the master of St Elen's Chapel in Wilton, and for the priests his Brethren, as well as for the Beadmen in 1531, the master is required to say 'two tymes in the weik, *Placebo* and *Derige* with the Commendacions for all Christen saulls'; also to teach the 'beidmen thar *De Profundis* and the Psalme *Miserere*,' and until such time as they can repeat it newly admitted men are to say 'ther *Pater Noster*, ther *Ave* and *Creid* with the Salter of our Lady. Each brother is also to say dailye Salter of our Blissid Lady with the Salter of our Lord' either in chapel or in the fields or wheresoever they shall be. All these items are contained in our little book of 1536. So also is the metrical antiphon *Salve Regina*, which the priest, after his Evensong in chapel was to say with 'one humble, laudable voce,' with a brother to help him, and then to recite the psalm *De profundis*.

The 'Psalter of our Lady' here prescribed was a common devotion of 'poor men' as appears in the wills of T. White of Beverley, clothier, 1453<sup>3</sup>, and of Sir John Scrope, Lord Scrope of Masham and Upsal in 1451, who provided 24 of these mourners with new rosaries of wooden beads to tell while they recited this devotion, on which account no torches were to be held by them<sup>4</sup>. Being a substitute for the 150 Psalms of the *Psalterium Daviticum*, this 'psalter' consisted of 150 repetitions of the *Ave* or Salutation of the Blessed Virgin, for 'telling' which 150 beads '*numeralia*' or '*precuraria*' were provided. At regular intervals on the string, i.e. after each decad of 10 beads, a larger one was introduced to indicate that the Lord's Prayer was then to be recited once. It was repeated after each set of 10 Salutations, so that there were 15 Paters said in all. These 15 larger beads in some sets (or 'pairs' of beads, as they were called) were made of some different material, and were sometimes gilded or otherwise specially ornamented and distinguished. They gave to the 'pair of beads' (*par precum*, or *par precurarium*) their other special name of 'a pair of paternosters.' When all these beads (large and small) had been passed through the hand, and all the *Paters* and *Aves* had been duly said, a *Credo* was repeated to conclude the 'psalter.' The proper

<sup>1</sup> *Northern Wills*, II. 75.

<sup>2</sup> *Test. Ebor.* v. 313-15.

<sup>3</sup> *id.* ii. 167<sup>2</sup>, *id.* 186; on p. 188 the first date 'Mcccc. quadragesimo primo' must be an error, the regnal year being 29<sup>o</sup> Hen. VI, 1451.

<sup>4</sup> Much information about the strings of beads and the 'Psalter of our Lady' is given in D. Rock's *Church of our Fathers*, iii. 266-274, Hart and Frere's edition, 1903 (in which Dr Rock's unfortunate mistake about *beltidum* is corrected). See also the indexes to *Ripon Chapter Acts* and *Durham Account Rolls*. Whether the beads were used in reciting "the Psalter of our Lord," and what that devotion consisted in the present writer has not learnt.



place for the Creed could be indicated by the clasp (or knot) of the string with or without a crucifix or *agnus Dei* or some other pendant.

The beads (or prayer)<sup>1</sup> of this devout exercise of the unlearned, or 'simply lettered,' could be said (as it were for one nocturn at each revolution of them) on a string one-third of the full length, or even on the fingers of the hand. It was however one of the longer 'pairs' or sets which, as his 'best bedes,' T. Thomson, alderman, of Hull, bequeathed in 1540 to his daughter Agnes on her mother's death—a set with the full complement. They were 'of silver and gilte, contenyng in nombre vij score and x, besides the gawdes<sup>2</sup>' [which would be presumably at least 15 in number], making (large and small) together 165, or sufficient for a full psalter of our Lady. In 1551 Elizabeth Lord, of York, formerly prioress of Wilberfosse, left to her cousin Mabell, wife of H. Wilson in Kendal, 'a par of corall beades with silver gawdes<sup>3</sup>.' Chaucer's Prioress bare about her arm 'of small coral...a peire of bedes gaudid al with grene.' (*Tales*, li. 158–9.)

It seems likely enough that after giving special decoration to the string of beads and making the necklace in itself beautiful, and a joy to the possessor, if not even sometimes censured, as too worldly and too gaudy, by the severely critical, the larger and more highly ornamented beads and pendant served also some other purpose apart from reminding the user to repeat the *Pater noster* (or the *Credo*). While the word '*Ave*' is far the most frequently recurring salutation in our little Prymer, and '*Salve*' comes comparatively seldom, we find among the 'other prayers' a devotion in metre recounting the 'five corporal joys' of the Blessed virgin<sup>4</sup>, each brief stanza beginning with the word "Gaude"; and

<sup>1</sup> Dr Skeat instructs us to distinguish from the word *bid*, to command (derived from A.S. *béodan*) a word in ordinary use, the similarly written word *bid*, to say prayers (derived from A.S. *biddan*, to pray, with which 'beg' and 'bede' or 'bead' are connected, and which has become nearly obsolete, surviving only in " *bidding-prayer*" and in to *bid beads* (pray prayers). 'Bead,' originally=a prayer, came to be transferred to the 'perforated ball for counting prayers.'

<sup>2</sup> *Test. Ebor.* vi. p. 97. In 1551 Lady Isabel Johnson leaves 'a pare of beades of stones and goldsmyth warke.' *id.* vi. 298. In 1401 Isabella Percy ('Persay') of York left 'one par bedys' of amber (with *unum librum de S. Spiritu*), two of coral and *j. Primarium*. *id.* i. 271.

<sup>3</sup> The Middle-English word '*gaud*' a show, ornament, comes from the Latin *gaudium*, *gaudere*, which gives us also the words 'joy,' 'enjoy,' 'rejoice' and 'jewel.' This last was latinized *jocale* (as if it had to do with *jocus*, a word etymologically distinct and having its connexion with 'jocular,' 'juggler,' and 'jeopardy'—which indicated the hazard in the even chances of a *jeu parti*). '*Gaud*' has given us the derivative '*gaudy*.' (W. W. Skeat.)

<sup>4</sup> These remind us of a song or carol which lingered on in the Seven Dials literature in the youth of the generation now passing away. It referred to "the first good joy that Mary had"—and so forth—and continued in vogue late enough for the musical revivalist to rescue it from oblivion. For the 5 'corporal' and 7 'spiritual joys of the Blessed Virgin Mary,' see pp. 63, 64, below.



then 'another, of the (five) spiritual joys' (*alia gaudia beatissimae Mariae*), each likewise beginning with its "Gaude." We are inclined to wonder whether some devout mother may not have restrung her little beads (sometimes apparently bequeathed loose in a box) for her daughter in sets of five.

The *Psalms of the Passion*, ten in number, are those which begin with '*Deus, Deus meus, respice*' (Ps. 21, *Vulg.* = xxii., Hebrew division) the first verse of which was on our Saviour's lips when He was crucified. They go on consecutively to the 30th Psalm (= xxxi. Hebr.) '*In Te, Domine speravi,*' which contains, in verse 6, another of His last (Seven) Words upon the Cross, '*In manus tuas commendo Spiritum.*' 'The psalmes of the passyon' are in our little book, next after the Office of the Dead and the Commendations. They are followed by the *cento* of psalm verses known as St Jerome's Psalter. Those of the Passion are found in the fifteenth-century MSS. of the York *Horae* as well as in many MSS. and printed Prymers of other Uses.

We cannot give space to any detailed account of the rest of the '*other prayers,*' the *multae aliae orationes* to which the printer, Nicolas Le Roux, referred in his colophon of 1536; but notes to some of them are appended to our text in the places where they occur.

We have treated the history and genesis of the "Prymer" as being identical with that of the "*Horae*," not only as a matter of historical inference and induction, but also because we have become more and more convinced, from the study of wills and other old time literature, that long before 1536 the same books of devotion as were named *Horae* (or "*Horae B. Mariae Virginis*") in Latin, were also called *primaria* or "*libri primarii*" or "*primarii libri*" in the Latin of those days; i.e. from the fourteenth century onwards. We find further that about the same time the peculiarly English word "Prymer<sup>1</sup>" (variously spelt '*premar,*' '*primere,*' '*prymmer,*' &c.) first comes into notice in our language.

Although something might be said on the score of convenience if we chose to apply the word *Primer* or *Prymer* to such books

<sup>1</sup> Henry Bradshaw pointed out that "it must be remembered that *Primarium* was a peculiarly Anglican name" when writing just before he died *Half a Century of Notes* for Mr Falconer Madan in 1886. In support of this it may be enough to note (1) that Du Cange in his researches for the great Glossary of what Bradshaw playfully called "Middling and Infamous Latinity" never notices the word; (2) the Elizabethan compiler of a rhyming dictionary, *Manipulus Vocabulorum*, Peter Levins in 1570 admits the word '*Primare*' as an English substantive noun (rhyming with '*care,*' '*hare,*' '*altare,*' '*vicare,*' and so forth) and latins it (*not* *primarium*, but) '*horarium,*' meaning a book of devotional hours, though Dr H. B. Wheatley in his index gives it the meaning of 'an hour-glass' (E.E.T.S., 1867, pp. 28, 324),—questionably, as we think. (3) J. Palsgrave, chaplain to Henry VIII, and tutor to the Princess Mary, in his French and English Dictionary in 1530, gives '*Unes heures*' as the French equivalent to 'a primer or a mattyns boke.' (p. 183.)

only as contain prayers and rubrics in the English language, while applying the name '*Horae*' to those in Latin, we find it almost impossible to draw the line decisively, the more so in the case of other Uses, for one and the same book was sometimes called '*This prymmmer of Salisburi use*' on one page and '*Hore B. V. Marie secundum vsum eccl. Sar.*' on another. We have decided on these wider grounds to apply the word '*Prymer*' indiscriminately. We ought, however, to record the fact that we have not found a single instance where on title-page or colophon any of the very few complete copies of '*Horae Ecclesiae Eboracensis*' which remain with those pages entire has been called '*primarium*' by the printer. The MSS., as is usual with old service-books written by hand, have not any original title. Notwithstanding this, so soon as we read carefully the Yorkshire and other Northern Wills and Inventories, which have been edited in such profusion for the Society, we find abundant proof that the words '*primarium*' and '*primer*' (in various spellings) were in common use among the lay-folk, and were used also by those of the clergy who drew up wills from their lips or who were themselves testators. The will of a Lincolnshire lady is indeed the earliest of all which have been brought to light, containing such bequests as 'to my husband (Sir Edmund Bacon) a pair of paternosters; to Sir John la Ware, my brother, unum *primarium* which was once my sister Margaret's; also, to my sister aforesaid, unum tressour cum *primario meo*,' in 1323<sup>1</sup>. However, in 1378 we read in the will of lady Margaret de Eure of Wilton Castle 'Item Radulpho de Eure unum *primarium magnum*.'

In 1395 there was a '*primarium cum suffragiis*' among books stored in the novices' common aumbry in Durham cloister. In May 1402, Constantia, lady of Skelton in Cleveland, leaves to Elizabeth, wife of Edmund Hastyng, 'my best book of Matins of our Lady and a pair of beads (par numeralium) of gold,' while in August of the same year Sir J. Depeden, knt., bequeaths to Joan, wife of W. Beckwith 'j. *primarium magnum*, cum litteris illuminatis.' In 1420 we come across a will in English: Matilda, lady of Dalden, wife to Sir William del Bowes, leaving to her god-daughter 'j romance boke is †called y<sup>e</sup> gospelles,' and after other interesting gifts of her books, 'y<sup>e</sup> boke with y<sup>e</sup> knotts' and 'Trystram' she wills 'j. *blak primar*' to her daughter Elizabeth. Passing over other gifts of '*primaria*,' we must quote from the codicil in English to the will of dame Margaret, late the wife of my lord Sir

<sup>1</sup> A. Gibbons, *Early Lincolnshire Wills*, p. 3. A few years before (in 1319 or 1320) Margerie de Orioll bequeathed among her earthly treasures 'my Matyns de Notre Dame which were my sister Johan's,' as well as a piece of the true cross, a pin of ivory which belonged to St Thomas of Canterbury, and my little book of Matyns and Common of Saints; *u. s.* p. 4 (8vo, Lincoln, 1888).

John Zouch, knt., late of Kirtlyngton, 'I bequeath to Elizabeth Chaworth [born Bowett of Ripingale], daughter to Elizabeth my daughter, my best Primer, a Franssh boke, a devise of gold,' &c. (1445). About 1450-51, Hawisia Aske of York had as many as five *primaria* to dispose of in her will, some of which had descended as keepsakes or heirlooms from previous generations. In 1458 J. Dantre of York left his Bonaventura and a book of devotions which had been his father's; to daughter Eustachia, the 'optimum primarium quod fuit matris sue': to Isabella, 'i. paruum Primarium.' Also he left a pair of bedes of coral, fifty in number, with gilt gaudes, 'to my dear most Blessed Saint Richard Scrope, to help his canonization, which may God of His great favour grant!' In 1467 Peter Ardern wills 'to Dame Kateryn my wife, myn oun daily Prymer,' &c. In the inventory of goods of J. Colan of York, goldsmith, a 'premarium' was priced 6*d.*, a 'par preclarium de le jeitt' (jet beads) at 2*d.*, and two old books, 2*d.* In 1498, Anne lady Scrope of Harlyng leaves to her godson Lord Suffolk 'a Premier whiche Kynge Edward gauffe me;...to dame Blakeney, my white booke of Prayers;...to my god-doughter, Anne Fitzwater, a Premier clasped with silver and gylte for a remembraunce to pray for me.' In 1507-8, dame Jane Stapilton of Wighill left to her 'son John Warde...a Prymor whiche is called my Bretare boke, if he lif after me.' In 1508, J. Petty, Lord Mayor of York, left 'to the vicar of Onsyngowre a Primer lomned with gold and a pare of Castilion bedes.' In 1509-10, W. Amyas of Horbury gen., 'I will that xij*d.* shal be disposed for the soule of hym that aght (owned) a Primer that I fand.' In 1513-14, Elizabeth, lady Scrope of Upsall and Masham [born Neville]: 'to lady Lucy my suster, my boke that is a Premier & a Sawter; which boke I had of the gifte of the most excellent princesse [Margaret Beaufort], King Henry the Seventh's mother.' And, to quote but one more extract out of some scores which we have noted, on Oct. 22, 1522, W. Rede, 'merchaunte, of the cittie of Yorke' says in his will, 'I wit [i.e. devise] to my broder, Cristofer Red, the howse which my fader dwelt in, in Baxtergate, and the best Primer the which was my uncle Sir Henry Wiott' (his book).

That the word 'Prymer' or 'Primer' and its Latin equivalents are derived from the Latin word for 'first' seems certain. But it has been a matter in dispute whether it owes its origin immediately (a) to *prima* (hora), the hour of prime, or to (b) the adjective *primarius* (liber), with its correlative neuter noun *primarium*. The question has been discussed by Dr Frederic J. Furnivall, by Mr Littlehales and others, and the materials for forming an opinion have been set out in full in a long and interesting article on the words Prime and Primer in the great *Oxford English Dictionary* which owed its origin in a measure to Dr Furnivall's

enthusiastic efforts and which Sir James Murray with marvellous skill and patience carried through almost to its completion. The assistance given by Mr Littlehales with reference to this article in particular has been duly acknowledged. The question has not been judicially settled but seems to be left by these authorities so that readers may draw their own conclusions. The writer of this Introduction readily grants that there may be no reason *à priori* why the word *Primer* should not have come from the Hour of Prime contained (somewhere) in the books called 'Horae' if it should appear that the book was most usually taken up for use at 'prime of the day.' He ventures, however, to point out that evidence for such having been the fact is hardly to be found. Further that he does not recollect seeing such a word as 'prime-book,' whereas '*matyns-book*' is fairly common. Again where the phrase 'pryme and the hours' has been rather freely cited (e.g. in the index to Hoskins' *Primers* we find, on turning to the title-pages themselves and the other passages indicated, that the phrase actually used is '*Matins with prime and the hours.*' Persons may have existed who spoke of 'my prime-book,' or my 'book for prime': but, that they ever did so, has not, he believes, been shown. For this and other reasons he has been led to favour the opinion (*b*) which supposes that the names '*Prymer*' and '*Primarium*' arose from one thinking of a particular book as his or her '*best book*'—'*liber primarius*' as contrasted with '*secundarius*'.<sup>1</sup>

"What is 'my best book'?" My first and best?

In days when even the bookish clerk of Oxenford could dream of no more than 'twenty bokes, clad in blak or reed,' and when noble ladies had acquired in a lifetime hardly half a dozen books that they could call their own or leave as keepsakes to their friends, what would be their meaning in speaking of 'my *best book*'? '*my liber primarius*' ('*meum primarium optimum*' when the word *Prymer* had 'come to stay')? In early Victorian times, our *best book* would probably be a well-bound prayer-book, or Bible,—or in some families a book such as a mother or sister took to mass or vespers, richly bound and brightly gilded and with one or more pictures of wondrous interest. In the earliest days of all, there might be a book such as Alfred coveted, a book of verses, with noticeable quaint initial letters; and his step-mother Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, had (doubtless) one or more il-

<sup>1</sup> The will of Henry Markett of York, merchant, 29 Oct. 1443, contains among bequests: to Henry, son of W. Gaunte, merchant '*meum Primarium secundarium*'; to Christopher Bothe '*daggarium meum secundarium.*' *Test. Ebor.* ii. 88. In 1458 J. Tidman, chaplain, to be interred in the chancel of the Chantry of SS. Nicholas and Katharine in All Hallows, Northstrete, leaves *j. librum secundarium vocatum vnum Portatyve* (a handy breviary) to James Philipp, clerk, on condition that he proceeds to priest's order. (*id.* ii. 213.)



luminated psalters also. In mediaeval England, for many successive generations, psalters with canticles and with a litany and prayers would be the best book in a household that had books at all. Some smaller book of religion, a few quires containing prayers would be the second best: in later times a 'book of romance' would be treasured, but in a religious age it would not be (or be thought of as being) the 'best' and primary book. Chaucer's Oxford clerk, if our question were put to him, might cast a wistful eye towards his *Aristotelis liber de Animalibus* or *Moralium* or *Metaphysicorum* in red, but he would scarcely hesitate to make answer that (while the finest book might be the noble antiphoner, or 'coucher,' laid open for the singers), still the best book in his own possession was that breviary which the good old priest his godfather had bequeathed to him. And he bethinks him that he will leave it at his death to the chantry for souls, as he has no *optimum animal* to give as a mortuary fee, nor any best or second best sword (*gladium primarium et secundarium*), such as laymen have to leave. Yet, after all (*primus* means *first* as well as *best*): was not my first book of all the best book too? The book which my mother showed me carefully, and taught me not to spoil it: the wonderful book with large pretty letters here and there from which she taught me abece and '& *per se*,' and, in a little time, to read. She promised me that if I was her good boy I should some day have it for my own, when she had done with it, or I might have a new one like it, perhaps, when her ship came home from Tartary. It was the Hours of our Lady, and we found *Pater* and *Ave* somewhere in it, and my *Credo*, and St Edmund's prayer, and *Gaude* and *Benedicta*, and *Miserere*, *Maria*, and *Magnificat*. Father John found us little 'z for Zaccheus,' somewhere, and told me he was very small like me. There were red Christ-crosses on almost every page—dozens of them on one; and, I think, on the cover were five bosses for His Wounds<sup>1</sup>. It certainly had the Hours of our Lady in it, much like those which I have said since the Bishop, when I was ordained an acolyte, charged me to recite every day<sup>2</sup>, and to pray for him and say the psalm and suffrage which he named. It was certainly, in every

<sup>1</sup> The writer does not feel certain about the age of this style of binding, whether it was as old as Chaucer's time (cir. 1386). For the 'five paraffys grete, & stoute, Bolyd in rose red' on the boards of the book 'that men callyth an abece,' brought to him at school to teach him his alphabet, see the ABC Poem on the Passion, in E.E.T.S. vol. O.S. 15 (Political Poems, &c.), 1866, p. 271.

<sup>2</sup> For the charge to the minor orders to recite '*Horas B. Virginis quotidie:—et quod orent pro eo; aliquid certum imponendo*,' see the thirteenth century Pontifical, now at Cambridge, which about 1510 became the property of Abp Chr. Bainbridge. *York Pontifical*, p. 13. Subdeacons were to say the '*horas canonicas*'; Deacons, '*aliqua psalteria*,' and Priests the Psalm '*Ad Te, Domine, levavi*,' as an act of daily penitence, or else the Suffrage of the Trinity, or that of the Cross, or of St Mary. (id. pp. 15, 33, 41.)

way, our best book when I was a child at home. There was only one other, two quires of paper sewed in a scrap my mother found. The small children now, those little clergeons whom I hear conning their ABC in the song-school as I pass, and who hope to become grammar boys in time at Merton, learn to bless themselves before they find their letters and *Pater* and *Ave* there, as I learnt to do at home. They are proud to call the little book they learn from, 'my prymer<sup>1</sup>'—(or so much of it as they remember), though it is soiled and has lost several pieces, but the master can contrive to teach from it.

Thus we venture to imagine the line of the Clerk's thoughts and reminiscences, and to suggest that he still held that the Prayer-book of his home was worthy of the premier place in the world's library.

As the art of illumination advanced, the Book of Hours continued for centuries to be the best book in the noble lady's bower. She could take it with her to the church, or find it ready in her pew<sup>2</sup>. The prymer was the finest and most precious book and the most serviceable for devotion which the chamberlain could place on the cushion which he set ready in oratory or chamber for his lord<sup>3</sup>. Generally speaking, in the end of the fourteenth and in the fifteenth century, and even after the use of printing had come in, the *Horae* was the best book that a lay person of either sex could have, or hope to see or handle at close quarters, or to look on as his or her own. As the art of illumination advanced, and even afterwards when printing came in, books of religion were among the most numerous and important of the books produced. The Prymer continued to be the first, as well as the fittest, book of Religion within the layman's reach. It was also the most attractive to his children, and the handiest and likeliest for them to be taught to read in. In due time, grounded upon this early instruction from the pages of the *Horae*, one of these boys may become a clerk, and rise to priesthood, and his father may leave this Prymer to him as a reminder to say mass for the welfare of his soul, and for his kinsfolk. Its fine letters, its illuminations and miniatures, and latterly the wood-engraved letters which embellished it and the pictures which illustrated the

<sup>1</sup> Skeat's Chaucer (*The Prioresses Tale*), li. (65).

<sup>2</sup> On book-rests in mediæval pews, see Howard and Crossley's *English Church Woodwork*, p. 300, with illustrations.

<sup>3</sup> Some indeed might have a missal or even a portative breviary, but these (at least in the earlier days when the word 'Prymer' took its origin) were in their way almost as exceptional persons as the learned Sir Thomas More was in a later century. If some of those who read on in their mass-books, or turned the pages, were perhaps sufficiently lettered to have been ordained themselves, nevertheless, he or any layman using a mass-book or a portos, was so far taking something of a clerical part, and was using a book, at all events, which belonged to the church rather than to the homes of the lay people.

text, as well as the binding in gay coloured or rich covers, with 'claspis silver and gilt,' made it a joy for young and old.

The *Horae*, like the Psalters in the first days of English learning, were found to be most serviceable for children's earliest lessons. They picked out letters in them and various forms of words for their soul's health. At times the maker of such a book had a special thought of such beginners. The sign of the cross, ✠, with the letters of the alphabet following it in their order ('the cris-cross' row), was printed at Paris in an 8<sup>vo</sup> Prymer of Salisbury Use, for F. Byrckman, London, in 1514. It was specifically intended '*pro pueris*,' and to involve no turning for cross reference ('*totaliter ad longum, sine require*') as stated on the title-page. Some other editions followed, but the earliest extant Prymers of York Use to give the alphabet as a whole are those of the time of Philip and Mary. Some contain the Graces at Dinner and Supper, and the responses sufficient to help a lad or a man to serve or 'answer a Priest at Mass.' In the meanwhile in 1545, four months before the death of Archbishop Lee, the King's Prymer in Latin, and also in English was put forth by royal authority, with an injunction charging all schoolmasters and bringers up of young beginners to teach to children this Prymer or Book of Prayers, "next after their A.B.C. now by us also set furthe." This 'A.B.C.' put forth by authority, was also a book of religion as Henry Bradshaw showed, containing as it did, besides the alphabets and syllabary, *Pater, Ave*, Creed and Ten Commandments (in both languages),—the long Graces somewhat shortened,—and instruction for a child 'to help a priest to sing' his mass. The first page of such an A.B.C. with the ✠, the alphabets, and syllables, 'In the Name of the Father' to the end of the Lord's Prayer (but stopping short of the *Ave*) from the English version may be traced, letter for letter, and often line by line, from the earliest known edition<sup>1</sup>, edited in facsimile by Evelyn Shuckburgh in 1889, through the Horn-books reproduced in great profusion by Mr Tuer, right on to the 'British Battledore' of early Georgian times<sup>2</sup>, after which the spelling-books gained the field. But these books from the time of Henry VIII and Dr Colet were called 'the A.B.C.' and not 'the Primer.' The present writer ventures to suggest a doubt whether anyone called these little A.B.C. books of the alphabet *plus* a very few devotions and helps for 'young beginners,' a *primer*, before the Restoration. The word was used indeed in a figurative sense by

<sup>1</sup> This 'ABC,' cir. 1538, and W. Powell's, 1547, have the *Ave* (Lat. and Engl.), Day's edition, 1553, omits it.

<sup>2</sup> The *Horn-book* of Charles II re-appeared, line by line, and letter for letter, in the *British Battledore*, cir. 1750-75. See Mr Tuer's *Hist. of the Horn-Book* (1897), pp. 170, 304 (cuts 94, 131).

Quarles in 1640. But John Bunyan when writing his 'Book for Boys and Girls' (1686)<sup>1</sup> distinguished the Primer from the Horn-book, as well as from the Psalter of his day. Although the authority which put them forth was Anglican the books known as 'The Primer' to which by circumstances Bunyan himself, in earlier life, and his readers young and old, in 1686, were limited, and would have to learn to read in, were little volumes such as those of 1580 which Mr Hoskins has set forth the 'contents' in his *Prymers* (pp. 301-6). In structure they are singularly like the thin York *Horae* of Queen Mary's reign, and while they have the alphabet and numerous graces as 'the A.B.C.' of 1538, &c., and also the Marian *Horae* or *Prymers* had, they are not restricted to the contents of the books of Religious Instruction (reformed or unreformed) put forth by authority under the title of 'the A.B.C. in [Latin and] Englysshe,' cir. 1538-1605, nor those abecees issued under Bp Bedel's care in Dublin in the reign of Charles I, or even the issue further protestantised, but still a book of brief contents, in 1652 under the Commonwealth. The 'Primer' of the seventeenth century issued while episcopacy remained established, and reissued about 1670-85, was still a sister (though an estranged sister) of the sixteenth century *Horae* or *Prymer* in Latin and in English, for though it was now entirely in English it retained a vestige of certain of the Hours, not indeed the 'Hours of St Mary' which had given the older books their name, but the Order of Morning and Evening Prayer, besides the Litany, in the books printed cir. 1670, and 1685.

Something more remains to be added concerning the variations of the English 'Uses.'

Mr Bishop observed that "the spread of 'devotional' practices is, as a general, if not universal rule, from the religious orders to the clergy," the Black Canons being the means by which such practices passed from the monasteries "to the cathedral and collegiate churches, and the secular clergy at large."

What was at first a devout and pious act of supererogation came sooner or later to be imposed by authority as part of the daily duty of the secular clergy. In the case of the *Officium Beatae Mariae cotidianum* (the *Officium Parvum*) we find that its recitation was made obligatory on the secular clergy. In the latest years of the eleventh century the Council of Clermont and the preaching of the First Crusade, with its enthusiasm and its spirit of comradeship, did much to establish and diffuse the *cultus* of the Virgin Mother, and the veneration of the Holy Cross throughout the

1

'Nor let them fall under Discouragement,  
Who at their Horn-book stick, and time hath spent  
Upon that A, B, C, while others do  
Into their Primer or their Psalter go.' (J. Bunyan, 1686.)



Western Church. It seems highly probable that nearer home the influence of St Osmund at Old Sarum (1078-99) may have tended in the same direction. At all events the obligation to recite the 'Little Office' daily was laid upon the secular clergy at that time. The laity were stirred by hymns and anthems and devotions in the days of the crusades, and they carried the clergy with them, as in more recent experience of war time, the hymns, hardly less than our National Anthem and sundry patriotic songs, have done their part in strengthening the sense of comradeship at home, as well as in the zone of active military service. From natural and practically inevitable causes, variations have arisen in (so to call them) the texts and versions of those songs which have been in common use. And so it was in earlier centuries. If our National Anthem has been subjected to some variation, although it has been in print for several generations, it is not a matter of surprise to us to find that the order of the Hours of the Blessed Virgin in the course of its wide diffusion should have been subject to considerable divergence and that it developed variations in different ages and in separated localities. Local variations arose as to the order in which people recited certain pieces—such as anthems, and versicles or responses, and even psalms and lessons which combined with the hymns and collects to make up the daily Office of the Blessed Virgin. As in the Church of England in the choir services of to-day, the hymns which are sung by custom, or the anthems which are sung according to the rubric, after the collects of Evensong, vary from place to place, so that, while one anthem is being sung at York, a second one is being sung at Durham, a third (it may be) at Salisbury, and there may be many other variations in quires or in parish churches: so in the sixteenth century and earlier, there was a difference noticeable in those ancient buildings respectively, between (for example) the particular versicle and response appointed to follow the prescribed hymn in the office of St Mary. If a Yorkshire layman took his Prymer to the Minster and read therein his vespers in that office, he would read in it the verse *Sancta Dei genitrix*, and its *R.* *Intercede pro nobis* after the hymn *Ave, maris stella*, before the antiphon to *Magnificat*, in Latin, or else a translation in his north country version if he were so fortunate as to have a York<sup>4</sup>prymer in English. Meanwhile his brother or sister perchance at Salisbury would be reading in their Sarum *Horæ* of our Lady the verse *Diffusa est gracia in labiis tuis*. *R.* *Propterea benedixit te Deus in eternum*. And in the conventual church at Durham<sup>1</sup> might be heard at this point a third

<sup>1</sup> See *Structure of the Durham Prymer* (B. Mus. Harl. MS. no. 1804). H. Littlehales, E.E.T.S. 109. *The Prymer or Lay Folks' Prayer Book*, II. p. lxxxvii (1897).

variety, *Ÿ. Post partum virgo inuiolata permansisti. Ÿ. Dei genitrix. intercede pro nobis*, while the hymn and the canticle would be the same in all three places<sup>1</sup>.

For the Lay people's Prayer-book had developed local uses precisely as the Breviary of the Clergy and of the Church had done so in the canonical office. The scribes of the MSS. in their day transmitted them, and the printers helped to perpetuate the local differences. The points of difference might be in themselves of comparatively small extent, and the divergences of no vital importance in themselves, but people must have cherished the prymers bequeathed to them by their friends and endeared perhaps by the recollection of the donor's use of them in earlier days. North country wills of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries teem with such bequests, as those of Constance, lady of Skelton in Cleveland, or of Sir J. Depeden, in 1402. In 1430 Ralph Adirley of Colwik Nowers (Notts), esquire, leaves to Thomas Slore 'a long coffer bound with iron and my red prymer; also to W. de Cornwell a red psalter to pray for my soul: in 1440, lady Aleisa Myton leaves to Alice Thwaits a prymer with gilt clasps (*signaculis*)<sup>2</sup>: in 1442 Mr J. Carleton junior, LL.D., advocate of the Court of York, 'to Ro. Smeton a psalter which he has long wished for: and to his son James my little prymer.' In 1446 Matilda de York, countess of Cambridge, bequeathed to her cousin Beatrice Watirton 'a gold cross which aforetime was my mothers, and my green *Primarium*: to

<sup>1</sup> We are speaking of course of the *Horae* in the hands of the Laity. What local difference there was between the longer and more elaborate service used in Salisbury Choir, as printed in the Sarum Breviary and that which may have been used by the clergy at York is at present unknown to us, since the York Breviary (though it prescribes the weekly commemoration *de domina*, i. 674-90) does not appear to have included or mentioned the Daily Office of the Blessed Virgin.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning of the word '*signaculum*' (*libri*) is not quite certain. It is applied to the 'seven seals' of the Apocalypse (v. 2, 5, 9; vi. 1) in the Latin Vulgate, apparently as synonymous with '*sigillum*.' The two senses, 'book-clasp,' and 'book-marker,' are suggested in Methuen's *Antiquary's Books, Old Service-Books*, pp. 275-7, 316. Both *signaculum* and *offendix* (the latter word having been used, by Festus, of the strap or string to the augur's *apex*, and likewise of the knot or button to fasten it) are given in *Promptorium Parvulorum* as equivalents to the 'sperel of a boke,' i.e. a clasp or fastener (ed. Mahew, E.E.T.S., vii. E.S., pp. 428, 703: where '*jirmaculum*' is given for 'sperel or closed in schettyng'). In like manner, *Catholicon Anglicum* (ed. Herrtage, Camden Soc. N.S. xxx., p. 65) gives "A Clasp: *offendix*, *signaculum*" (cf. '*Offendix*. A knot off byndyng of bokys,' *Medulla Grammatices*, there cited). The perversity of man having misused the book-clasp, with its metal fastening or claw, to keep and mark the places in the volume when unclasped, his brother's (or his sister's) ingenuity next devised various tags, buttons, strings, beads, vellum strips, silken ribbons, tapes, disks of ivory, slips of metal, thumb-registers, &c., &c., some of them attached to specific leaves, others capable of being shifted from page to page in the volume, or even (with no less deplorable results) transferable from book to book. As to the use of *signaculum* (in 1445-6) in the sense of a tag attached to the edge of a leaf in a book, required for frequent speedy reference, see *Durham Account Rolls* (ed. J. T. F.), ii. 411; iii. 965.

Katherine Fitzwilliam, a little black Prymer, and a jewel called *Agnus Dei* covered with silver and adorned all about with stones and pearls.' And here we have in the little printed book before us the Prymer, treasured by George Watte and other north country merchants in the time of Henry the Eighth.

We have attempted in the following pages from the book itself to present to the reader's notice devotions full of interest to those who care to know what prayers our forefathers and ancestresses used in generations past, and to help those who wish to study the devotional mind and the religious thought of days gone by, or who desire to trace the progress or development of the religion of the Middle Ages. The text of the minor offices in use by the devout lay folk, and of the less formal prayers, suffrages and hymns which helped to fill the pages of the Book of Hours, no less than the forms which are recognisable as combining to make up the *corpus* of the Prymer proper, should help to throw a side light also upon Mediaeval Art and upon pictorial illustration in particular.

A short description of the woodcuts is given where they occur in illustration of the text.

We append a list (pp. lvi, lvii) of the few copies which have survived, the only ones so far as we can learn, of what must once have been a book in general use where people of the Northern Province lived. The editions range from 1510 to 1556, and are only nine in number, and most of these are represented now by a solitary copy only, or by a few stray pages now remaining to prove that such an edition of the York *Horæ* once existed. That more editions of this Prymer were issued in the sixteenth century, and now have left no visible trace of their existence, seems highly probable. Out of the nine editions only one (printed at Rouen in 1517-18) is now represented by as many as three copies, two of which were collated by the present editor more than twenty years ago, as were the single copies or fragments of all the other editions in our list.

NOTES ON CERTAIN PASSAGES OF THE TEXT WHICH IS  
PRINTED BELOW.

The following additional notes have been thought by those who read the proof-sheets while the book was passing through the Press to be desirable or likely to be useful to some who may be reading it.

P. 11. In the memorial lines at the foot of the Kalendar for June the word 'thought' is misprinted 'tought.' Similarly 'teyr' appears for 'their' on p. 12. Other errors may be noticed in Marchant's printing of the English, such as 'man is in chief (or "chyef") lykyng' in the month of May (p. 19) becomes, in the Rouen printing press, 'man is in thy of ly kyng.' The letter 'w' being exotic, the supply of that letter soon ran short; so we get (in July) 'vvhan' and 'tvvayn' for 'whan' (or 'When'), and 'twayn,' p. 12. And other such instances occur. The & or 'and *per se*' is often represented by 'et' in English passages in some Sarum books, but this has been avoided apparently by the Rouen printers of York *Horae*. We find, however, some instances in the MSS. from which our Appendix I is printed. See pp. 161 (lin. ult), 163 n<sup>4</sup>. When Coverdale and Grafton were writing from Paris, 12 Sept. 1538, to beg for influential support for the printer Regnault ('Fraunces Reynold') with whom they were then lodging, against the Company of Booksellers in London, they sent an undertaking that, if employed, he would cancel all faulty pages '*onlesse he haue an English man that is lerned, to be his correctour.*' *S.P. Dom.*, Hen. VIII, vol. i. part ii. pp. 588-9. We may notice such forms as 'tis' = 'this' (on fo. cxlviii) in the 4<sup>to</sup> printed at Rouen in 1517-18, where 'tys' also appears, along with 'tewly' for 'truly,' on fo. xxxiii.

P. 21. *The Canon of Ebbes and Floods*. The purpose of this table was to find the precise hour and minute on any day of any month in the year when it would be 'full flood,' i.e. high-tide or high-water (twice in the 24 hours) at such ports or havens (respectively) as Bristol, Sandwich, Berwick or London, which were of general importance and service to English folk in the time of Henry VIII.

At the present day we can find in *Whitaker's Almanack* among the tables for any specific month in the year the "Time of High Water at the undermentioned Places,—London Bridge, Liverpool, Bristol, Hull, Greenock, Leith, and Dublin Bar," respectively, set out for the morning and the afternoon of each day in any particular month. Or we can see in our daily paper, in a brief 'High Water Table,' for 'To-day,' and for 'To-morrow' the like information respecting London Bridge (and, *mutatis mutandis*, for Dover also). In Tudor times our ancestors were not so far favoured by the Art of Printing. They could, however, have



recourse either to the popular Prognostications contrived by Jasper Laet the younger and printed by J. Redman, or to some other<sup>1</sup>; or else to the page which concerned 'ebbing and flowing' in one of the printed editions of the Prymer or *Horae* of York or Salisbury Use, which provided a Table or Canon such as may be seen on our 21st page, below. Or again, there might be within reach a table-book such as Mr Eustace Bosanquet has most kindly lent us from his collection<sup>2</sup>.

The 'contentes of the book' comprise a Kalendar and nine other Tables or items, each provided with a *declaracōn of the same* to explain its use.

'1. A Callender. 2. A table for the dominicall lettre. 3. A table to knowe the Pryme, or goulden number, foreuer (with circles). 4. A table for the Epacte: for to knowe the Epacte by the goulden number (by two concentric circles attached). 5. To knowe the age of the mone. 6. To knowe how many houres the Mone shyneth euery night. 7. To knowe whenne it is good to lette bloodd or to bathe: to take purgacōns (or 'to pource'). 8. A table for the breake of the daie, the sonne risinge, the length of the daie, the sonne goinge downe, and the twye light. 9. A table to knowe the fluddes and ebbes. 10. A table of Algorysme to multiplie noumbers (from 1 to 320, arranged in 20 lines of 16 columns).'

Here n<sup>o</sup>. 9, which gives the Canon of Ebbs and Floods, occupies both sides of leaf 26. It is constructed so as to serve in all cases, not merely for three or four selected ports or havens. It has 16 main double columns where our table—(p. 21) supplied from the York *Horae* of 1517-18—provides only three such couples. The MS. table is thus applicable for general use. Only it was requisite that anyone making use of it should know, or should '*learne of some Maryner, what mone maketh full see*' (sea) '*in that place, as*' (i.e. *exempli gratia*) 'a south Mone or a south south-east Mone at any other of the said 32 poyntes' of the compass, which are set half of them at the top, and half '*upon the netherside*' of the leaf, along the bottom of the page<sup>3</sup>.

Mr Bosanquet observes that the compositor and the printer in 1517-18 may have known little about Blood-letting or Tides. In the Tide-table on p. 21, column 5 should be headed *South*, and at the

<sup>1</sup> Laet's *Prognostication*, for 1541, and Joachim Hubright's, for 1569, contain a Table of the Ebbs and Floods. *English Printed Almanacks and Prognostications* by E. F. Bosanquet: Illustrated monographs issued by the Bibliographical Society, n<sup>o</sup>. xvii., 4to Chiswick Press, 1917, pp. 24, 41. See also, pp. 66, 88, 111, *ibid.* for others. Also n<sup>o</sup>. ix. among facsimiles in that volume.

<sup>2</sup> Mr E. F. Bosanquet's book is a MS. written neatly (cir. 1550) in red and black, on 35 leaves of vellum of small quarto shape (5½ × 7 in.), bound in its original brown leather cover (the letters 'WG' stamped 'blind' on each cover), with two clasps. We have not seen any table of the xvi<sup>th</sup> cent. providing such information for Hull or other northern ports specifically.

<sup>3</sup> The example given in Mr Bosanquet's table-book is this: "'I woll knowe the 10 day of October, anno 1550, at what houre and mynute it shalbe full see at London Brydge.' He ascertains 'that a Southwest Mone maketh full see,' or high tide, 'there at 3 of the Clocke Juste'—or as we should, probably, now say, 'precisely.' As Mr Bosanquet says, *The Seaman's Almanack*, 1675, is fuller.

bottom should be *North* (instead of 'So West and No West' respectively). Again, for the last column of figures they have headed them 'West,' and have printed '*Northe*' at the foot, instead of So(uth) West at the top and *North East* at the bottom. He adds that the Tide tables given in the Prymers are, of course, only approximate; but in those days half an hour one way or the other was of no consequence. Working out the high tide for London on Feb. 9th, 1920, by this table he found the table of 1517-18 half an hour wrong, taking London as South West. But here in Salisbury, at the headquarters of the Southern Command, and removed at some distance from the Sea, I cannot find 'some Maryner' to tell me why London was thought to require a South West moon<sup>1</sup> to make the tide full. I read, by the way, that in the Bristol Channel "Seven Stones light vessel" has been observed to swing "to the N.E. or flood-tide within a few minutes of the time of high water at Dover."

Pp. 22-23. The table to show the moon's relation to the signs of the zodiac, and their influence on the human body, and to direct the choice of days favourable for blood-letting, or taking medicine, or entering the 'stewe' or bath: the 'canon' or rule 'for lettyng of blode.'

If our ancestors had been strictly guided by the rule as printed, it may be questioned whether we should have been alive this day had they not been a hardy and adventurous race. Apart from the obscurity of the explanation given on p. 23, it appears that the printer in Jacques Cousin's '*officina*' at Rouen in 1517-18 supplied a rule and table which either was misprinted or gave a different result from that which appears from Mr Bosanquet's table-book of 1550. Mr Bosanquet has proved this by taking the following example, and working out the result.

"Required to find the sign the moon is in on February 9th, 1920. Column 1. *February*. Column 2. [a]=1. Count nine down = 'i' (the 9th letter in the alphabet). Golden Number for 1920, '2,' in column 3 opposite 's.' Call 's,' [a]; count, beginning there, 9 (which is equal to 'i') and begin from 'a' = *Pisces*, the moon is in the xv<sup>th</sup> degree, and you find it is only 'meane to let blood,' and the same to take medicine (for there is a broken cross, ☒ in both these columns), but a good day to take a bath (for there is a complete ☒ in that third place, two lines from the bottom of the *dies electi*). Thus according to your table in 1517-18."

"According to mine (in the MS. table-book, *cir.* 1550), it is 'metely good to let blood' and good to take an aperient ('*expulsive*'). Whereby we learn that Doctors differ. Or perhaps it is a Printer's error. At any rate I don't suppose it mattered very much in those days: even as now, if you want a bath or a Pill, you take it."

The verses to our Kalendar (pp. 6-17) supply much old world counsel as to *minutio (sanguinis)*, i.e. bleeding, baths, potions, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Or a N.E. moon, as appears from the foot of the Table. From *An Almanack for Seamen* (1675) which contains a more extended Tide Table we may learn that both a S.W. and a N.E. moon "maketh full Sea" at "London, Tinmouth, Hartlepool, Whitebay, Amsterdam, Gasconie, Brittanie, and Gallicia."

P. 24. The editor (C. W.) deeply regrets that he has omitted four lines which belong to the section treating of the Distinctive difference between the *Four Complexions of Men*.

After the 5th line of that section (as printed on p. 24) two hexameter lines are needed to describe the *Melancholy* man, and also the beginning of the account of the *Phlegmatic*, to the latter of whom the verses 'Est somnolentus' &c. are attributable. The lines inadvertently omitted are these:—

*Versus.* Inuidus et tristis, cupidus, dextreque tenacis,  
Non expers fraudis, tumidus, luteique coloris.

¶ Flegmaticus, est humidus et frigidus, sicut aqua, parum vult et multa potest: et habet has proprietates.

P. 34. The Benedictio '*Per euangelica dicta*' &c. has been used as an inscription on a bell. So likewise have several other phrases which were familiar to those who used the Prymer: e.g. '*Aue Maria... Dominus tecum*' (p. 37, *et passim*), more or less of it; '*Ora mente pia*' (p. 40); '*Nos cum prole pia*' (p. 116). '*Rosa sine spina*' (p. 136) was a motto placed by Henry VIII on his coins. (J. T. F.)

K. Henry's bookbinder, John Reynes, who at one time worked in company with W. de Worde, and who (as Mr E. Gordon Duff assures us) was 'the most important stationer of foreign birth settled in England' as Reynes was in 1510-44, used the lines, '*Hec rosa virtutis, de celo missa sereno, Eternum florens regia sceptrum tenet*,' on one of his noted heraldic panels for stamping bindings of books. Also, the Baptism of our Lord, St George fighting the dragon within an enclosure, round which run various animals and huntsmen: the *Arma Redemptoris mundi*, or instruments of the Passion, the arms of England and France supported by the dragon and greyhound, the Tudor rose supported by angels, with the verses above mentioned, the arms of the city of London of which he was probably a freeman; the hound, falcon and bee; the pomegranate slipped for Q. Katharine of Aragon, &c.

P. 38. The last line of the 2nd stanza of the hymn *Quem terra*, the phrase *gestant puellae viscera*, was incorporated in *Adeste fideles*, which is said to be a xvii<sup>th</sup> or xviii<sup>th</sup> cent. composition sung to the familiar tune, ascribed to J. Reading, organist at Winchester, cir. 1675-92. See Julian's *Dict. Hymnol.* p. 20 (i), p. 1549 (ii). (J. T. F.)

P. 45 n. St Pantaleon (28 Jul.) *Br.* ii. 424.

St Erkenwald, Bp of London, is noticed twice in *Sar. Missal*, 1497; his Depositio, 30 Apr., his Translatio, 14 Nov.

St Armagillus (St Armel, St Erme, or 'Hermes' in Cornwall), Priest and Confessor, solitary at Rennes, 19th (*al.* 16th) Aug. *cir.* 552. *Missale Sar.* col. 823 n. (1498) *Trans. St Paul's Eccl. Soc.* iii. 244, 257, 297. Invoked in cases of gout. *Horae Sar.* 30.

St Wilgefortis, Eutropia, Liberata, Liberatrix (vulgarly known as St Uncumber). She had a miraculous beard given her, in order to

spoil her alluring beauty and maintain her virtue. (20 Jul.) *Transactions of St Paul's Eccl. Soc.*, iii. 245, 262; iv. 304.

St Sitha, Osyth or Sythe, V. M. of Essex, 7 Oct. *cir.* 870; 27 Apr. in Ch. Ch. Canterbury Martyrology addition (St Dorothy of Ireland, V. 15 Jan. was also called Sythe, Ita, Yta, or Mida. Whytford, *Mart.* pp. 10, 208). St Osyth, the East Saxon's festival was at one time (e.g. in 1294) kept on 3rd June, but subsequently on 7th Oct. *Tropenell Cartulary*, ii. 173, 391<sup>b</sup>. At 7 Oct. in *Missale Herford*, 338-9, within the octave of St Thomas Cantilupe. Cf. 'Cytha,' p. 93 <sup>n</sup>12.

P. 52 <sup>n</sup>. In the orison 'Deus qui hominem de limo terrae, ut angelorum impleres ruinas...formasti,' the reference is to St Augustine's idea of man's creation making up the number of the angels that fell. (H. Gee.)

P. 73 <sup>n</sup>9. in resurrectione resumes (*al. reformes*):—The words *corpus humilitatis* &c. which follow are taken from *Phil.* iii. 21 (*Vulg.*).

P. 78. *Oratio sexta*. 'O Jesu, Rex amabilis.' In the 6<sup>th</sup> prayer among the 'Fifteen O's of St Bridget,'—which were also known (in 1494) as the 'xv hours of the Passion' (*Hoskins*, p. 111),—we may note the influence of Augustinian Theology in reference to predestination and reprobation as if these were not conditional. (H. G.)

P. 83 <sup>n</sup>12. The book in St Bernardine's hand in the woodcut here described, is sometimes represented as open and displaying the text *Pater, manifestavi Nomen tuum hominibus*. The monogram 'ih's' on the roundel refers to the same idea, and does not, I think, represent a host. (J. T. F.)

Although only two mitres are shown in 1536 (referring to the bishoprics of Siena and Ferrara refused by the Saint in 1427 and 1431) there should have been a third mitre if the size of the picture had allowed it, to indicate the fact that he also refused the See of Urbino, in 1435. He died on 20th May, 1444, and was canonized in 1450. His name appears in *Brev. Sar.* ed. 1483.

P. 91. In these 'Litanies of the Saints' St Marcialis is invoked in the company of Apostles and Evangelists. Cf. *Br.* i. 932. He is commemorated (30 June) as the first Bishop of Limoges, or the Apostle of Limousin and Aquitaine. In legend he reckoned as one of the 70 or 72 disciples of our Lord. See art. 'Martialis (1) St,' by S. A. Bennett in *Dict. C. Biog.* iii. 836-7.

P. 93. SS. Cytha (or Sythe), Othilia (13 Dec.) and Wilgefortis (cf. pp. li, 45 <sup>n</sup>.) are among those named in 1532, p. 93, <sup>n</sup>. 12. St Sythe (7 Oct. *cir.* 870) was specially invoked in places where there were perils from water or from dangerous bridges from one of which she was blown into the river and marvellously recovered. *St Paul's Eccl. Soc. Trans.* iii. 245.



Pp. 100–104 ; 109–113. Having printed most of the ‘arguments’ or expository titles of the Psalms where they occur in the York *Horae* of 1517–18 (though not in 1536), we give here the remainder of the series of such headings from the Psalms appointed for the Vigils and Commendations of the Departed where we have omitted to do so in our text.

Page 100.

- Ps. 119. *AD Dominum* : in quo iustus petit liberari de malis huius seculi.  
 Ps. 120. *Levari* : in quo monet fideles recurrere ad sanctos.  
 Ps. 129. *De profundis* : in quo monet ad penitentiam.  
 Ps. 137. *Confitebor* : in quo monet ad laudandum et exaltandum Deum.

Page 101.

- Ps. 145. *Lauda, anima* : in quo monet ad laudem Dei.

Page 102.

- Ps. 5. *Verba mea* : in quo agitur de his quibus acquiritur hereditas eterne beatitudinis.  
 Ps. 6. *Dñe, ne in furore* : in quo monet peccatorem ad penitentiam, timore futuri iudicii.  
 Ps. 7. *Dñe, Deus* : in quo vir iustus petit ab omnibus persecutoribus liberari.

Page 104.

- Ps. 22. *Dñs regit* : in quo agitur de misericordia Dei.  
 Ps. 24. *Ad te* : in quo docetur vir iustus in aduersis non murmurare : sed diuinum expectare adiutorium.  
 Ps. 26. *Dñs illuminatio* : in quo vir iustus petit a Deo gratiam, vt preualeat contra hostes spiritales : et vt perueniat ad regnum.

Page 109.

- Ps. 50. *Miserere* : in quo propheta monet peccatorem exemplo sui ad penitentiam.  
 Ps. 64. *Te decet* : in quo propheta videtur consolari in hoc exilio per spem redeundi in supernam Hierusalem.  
 Ps. 62. *Deus, Deus meus* : in quo monet recte conuersari in medio nationis prae.  
 Ps. 66. *Deus misereatur* : in quo propheta monet ad laudem Dei, et bene operandum.  
 Ps. 148. *Laudate* : in quo monet ad laudandum Deum.

Page 110.

- Ps. 149. *Cantate* : in quo monet ad laudem Dei.  
 Ps. 150. *Laudate* : in quo monet ad laudem Dei propter beneficium glorificationis.  
 Ps. 29. *Exaltabo* : in quo agitur de resurrectione Christi.

Page 111. Hic incipiunt commendationes animarum.

Ps. 118. *Beati immaculati* : in quo datur perfecta doctrina ad beatitudinem consequendam.

*In quo* : Orat pro obseruantia mandatorum Dei.

*Retribue* : Orat pro auxilio gratie ad seruandum mandata.

*Adhesit* : Orat eleuari mente a terrenis, vt facilius seruet mandata Dei.

Page 112.

*Legem pone* : Orat sibi dari legem nouam, vt rectius tendat ad Deum.

*Et veniat* : Orat pro remisso aduentu Filii Dei, per quem liberetur.

*Memor* : Orat vt prospere dirigatur ad penitentiam et protegatur a molestis peccantium.

*Portio mea* : Orat vt non priuetur portione sua, que est Deus.

*Bonitatem* : Gratias agit Deo, quod punit in ista vita, vt non priuetur portione sua alia†.

*Manus tue* : Laudat Deum, quod fecit eum capacem, scilicet ad imaginem suam.

*Defecit* : Orat pro festino ingressu in eternam hereditatem.

*Ineternum* : Orat quod Deus impleat promissiones sanctis factas.

*Quomodo* : Agit gratias Deo, quod perfecit eum in virtutibus : et est oratio ad impetrandum donum charitatis et scientie.

*Lucerna* : Inflammat et illuminatus promittit se firmiter seruaturum mandata Dei.

*Iniquos* : Promittit se detestari malos propter amorem diuine legis.

*Feci* : Promittit se omni sollicitudine studere ad obseruantiam mandatorum.

*Mirabilia* : Deplorat casum malorum : et est oratio ad Deum : vt non sequatur exempla malorum.

*Iustus* : Gaudet de dono diuine iusticie contra malos.

*Clamavi* : Orat vt non inualescant contra eum persecutiones.

*Vide* : Exponit Deo suam humilitatem, petens exaltari.

Page 113.

*Principes* : Dicit se gratis persequi† a principibus mundi.

*Appropinquet* : Petit et promittit Deo laudem perpetuam.

P. 108, li. 1. *celte* : The ghost-word '*celte*,' from which our word *celt* (a stone or bronze axe) is derived, was originally a mis-copying of '*certe*,' the reading of Codex Amiatinus and other early MSS. in *Job* xix. 24. Once admitted, '*celte*' caught on and became universal in Latin Bibles and Breviaries (e.g. *Br.* ii. 665, in the *seruitium pro animabus, in commemoratione omnium fidelium*). I have often looked up the 8th Lesson, *Pelli mee*, in MSS. and have found that the earlier they are the more likely they are to have '*certe*.' A full account of this is in the *N.E.D.* ii. 215, under '*celt*<sup>2</sup>.' The evidence for our actual word *celtes* or *celtis*, before it got into the Vulgate and Office of the Dead, is very slender, if there be any. (J. T. F.) Cf. *Tracts of Clement Maydeston* (H. B. S.), 16 n., 79\*, 242<sup>b</sup>; F. Lucas Brugensis, *Animadv.*

(Antw. 1580); *Manuel de Critique Verbal*, M. Havet, 1911, par. 898; *On Celtis 'a chisel'*, F. C. Burkitt, *Journ. Theol. Studies*, 1916, xvii. 389-397.

P. 125, li. 7. Thomas, lord Darcy, denounced Thomas Cromwell at the Council table, held parley with Aske at the rising of the North, and unwillingly surrendered Pontefract Castle to the insurgents. He had opposed the divorce, and the dissolution of the monasteries. He was betrayed and beheaded in 1537. (*D. N. Biog.*)

P. 126. The name 'Oza' among the names attributed to God the Son, appears to refer to the acclamation 'Hosanna,' *Matt.* xxi. 9, 15; *Mark* xi. 9, 10. Cf. *Ps.* xx. 9, cxviii. 25. Osanna occurs as a Yorkshire (female) name, and like Agla, Tetragrammaton, the Incommunicable Name YHVH (in a corrupt form), &c., is found in the charm or amulet discovered within the Ingleby Arncliffe crucifix. See *Two Yorkshire Charms*, &c., by Chr. W., in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, xvii. pp. 402-407 (1903).

'Vermis': Cf. *Ps.* xxii. 6, commonly applied to the Christ. Also to Jacob, *Isai.* xli. 14.

Otheoticos: The initial 'O' may probably represent the Greek article, without its aspirate. The title meant 'Divine' and was accordingly spelt 'O theoticos' in 1517-18. *Catholicon*, 1497-8, gives '*hec theotica*' = *deitas*; and 'theoticus, -a, -um, id est divinus.'

P. 161. A Devoute Oreyson.—I have long thought that the popularity of devotions to God, to Jesus, the Holy Name, Corpus Christi, the Sacred Wounds, Holy Cross, the Passion, &c., was due to a reaction against the excessive devotion to the Blessed Virgin, the Saints, Relics, &c., of earlier times. (J. T. F.)

P. 161, last line but one of text:—*for cruceyd, read crucefyed.* Y. (i.e. here, York Minster MS. xi. O. 28, lf. 170).

P. 162, stanza (2.), li. 4:—*for 'presente,' Y. reads 'preserue.'*

P. 162, stanza (5.), li. 6, Y. reads 'Be me † help.'

P. 163. The heading to stanza (7.) in Y. is  
'*Tho † the aungelles.*'

P. 163, stanza (10.), li. 2, Y. reads 'Denys, serueys' (not 'Geruis').

P. 163, same stanza, last line, Y. reads 'All martyrs praye' (for 'All pray').

## PRINTED HORAE SECUN-

Date	Printer	Place	Merchants	Size of Page, &c.
c. 1510	(Ri. Pynson)	(London)	...	45 × 30 mm.
c. 1516	?	Rouen	Gul. Bernard & Jac. Cousin	185 × 121 mm.
1516 1517-18 26 Jan.	?	Rouen	Guilem. Bernard & Jac. Cousin	160 × 100 mm.
...		...	...	...
...		...	...	...
c. 1532	(?)	(?)	(?)	79 × 50
1536	Nic. le Roux	Rouen	Jehan Gropal & Jehan Marchant, (Rouen)	95 × 52

〈MARIAN				
1555	Rq. Toy	London		126 × 76
1556	Jo. Kingston & H. Sutton	London	J. Wight	127 × 77
c. 1556	?	London	J. Wight	126 × 80
"	"	"	"	" "
c. 1556	?	?	?	125 × 78

<sup>1</sup> Ed. cir. 1510. B. Mus. Bagford, 463, h. 1. 6 leaves of Litany. See *Hoskins, Primers, Sarum York and Roman*, n<sup>o</sup>. 38, pp. 1, 14, 15. Cited as 'B.' in our notes, on pp. 92-98.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. cir. 1516. York Minster, xi. O. 28. See *Hoskins*, n<sup>o</sup>. 51, pp. 1, 19, 20, 130-1. Cited occasionally as '1516,' or '16.'

<sup>3</sup> Ed. 1517(-18) Jan. St John's Coll. Cam., Ushaw, &c. See *Hoskins*, n<sup>o</sup>. 52, pp. 1, 41. Cited frequently in our notes as '17,' '1517-18,' or 'Ebor. 17' and used also on pp. 21, 51 n., 136-8.

<sup>4</sup> In the last sheets of Bernard and Cousin's Rouen quarto of 26 Jan., 1517-18, the pagination is inaccurate, "Fo. cliii," "Fo. cliiii," are twice repeated so that these numerals do double duty. Moreover "Fo. clix," and "Fo. clx" stand both for clv-clvi and for clxi-clxii, also.

<sup>5</sup> The Ushaw copy, of the same edition, is in a neat modern binding, by Andrews, Durham. Leaves 111, 155-8, 160-2 are numbered 'cvii,' cliii-clv, clix, clx; the numbers 29-32, and 134-143 have dropped out in pagination. Register: A<sup>8</sup>, B<sup>8</sup>, C<sup>6</sup>; A<sup>8</sup>, B<sup>8</sup>, C<sup>6</sup>, D<sup>6</sup>, E-M<sup>8</sup>, N<sup>6</sup>, O-R<sup>8</sup>, S<sup>4</sup>, T<sup>8</sup>, V<sup>8</sup>, Y<sup>8</sup>; so that there are really 174 leaves in the volume, *inclusive* of the 3 (un-numbered) preliminary sheets.

It appears as if the printer, when he paged or foliated the two concluding sheets (X and Y) instead of ascertaining the exact page with which sheet U ended, has



## DUM VSUM EBORACENSEM

Form	Language	Number of leaves and collation	Owner, &c.
32°	Lat. <sup>1</sup>	(6 leaves of Litany out of Sig. P. (8 + 206 + n.))	British Museum, Bagford fragm. 463. h. 1.
4°	Lat. <sup>2</sup>		York Minster, xi. O. 28, fragmentary. Title-page wanting and all after C. ii.
4°	Lat. <sup>3</sup> Lat. <sup>4</sup>	22 + 152 = 174 A <sup>2</sup> , B <sup>8</sup> , C <sup>6</sup> ; (A to Y) <sup>8</sup>	York Minster, xi. O. 8. St John's Coll., Cambridge, i. 9. 26. (olim: 'Tho: Baker coll. Jo: socius ejectus.') <sup>5</sup>
...	... <sup>5</sup>	(Last leaf marked 'clxxiii')	St Cuthbert's Coll., Ushaw, Durham.
...	...	A <sup>2</sup> , B <sup>8</sup> , C <sup>6</sup> , (A to Y) <sup>8</sup>	The Earl of Carysfort's copy (Sothe- by's, 19 June, 1889.)
16°	Lat. <sup>6</sup>	128. (A to Q) <sup>8</sup>	York Minster, xv. R. 44 wants A i. Q. i. Q. iii.
16°	Lat. <sup>7</sup>	144. (A to S) <sup>8</sup>	Lincoln Cathedral, RR. 4. 20 (wants E ii, E 7, E 8; I 8; M 5, M 8; N 1; R. 4. Sigs. G. M. O. wrongly ar- ranged in modern rebinding.)

## EDITIONS)

8vo	Lat. <sup>8</sup>	80. (A to K) <sup>8</sup>	York Minster, x. P. 8. (wants A 4, A 5; B 8; K 4, K 5).
8vo	Lat. <sup>9</sup>	80. (A to K) <sup>8</sup>	Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 'MSS' 4. 3. 35 or 4. 3. 25.
8vo	Lat. <sup>10</sup>	80. (A to K) <sup>8</sup>	At Magdalen College, Cambridge. Pepys Collection, N <sup>o</sup> . 136.
...	...	(... ...)	York Minster, fragment bound up in vol. xi. O. 28.
8vo	Lat. <sup>11</sup>	(fragment, 8 leaves)	York Minster, Sig. C. only 8 leaves (containing Lauds, Prime and Terce).

reckoned from the very beginning of the entire volume, without noticing that there were those three sheets at the beginning which had not entered into the foliation scheme of the main body of the volume. We find that, in the copy at St John's College, Cambridge, sheets R, S, T, U, X, Y contain pages numbered in a wild irresponsible manner, in this disordered fashion (to translate the gothic into arabic numerals) Fo. 123-5, 136, 126, 138, 129, 130 (in sig. R); 131, 142, 133, 144 (in S<sup>4</sup>); 145-152 (in T); 153, 154, 153, 154 (*bis*), 155, 156, 159, 160 (in U); 156, 160 (*bis*), 161-166; 167-174. So the number 'clxxiii' upon the concluding leaf of the volume, while it tells the true number of leaves in the whole book, is properly the 150th leaf only of those which bear a numeral at their upper corner.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. cir. 1532. York Minster, xv. R. 44. See *Hoskins*, n<sup>o</sup>. 108, pp. xlv, 41.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. 1536. Lincoln Cathedral. Our text. See *Hoskins*, n<sup>o</sup>. 123, pp. 1, 46, 151-2. Cited when necessary in our notes as '36' or '1536.'

<sup>8</sup> Ed. 1555. York Minster, x. P. 8. See *Hoskins*, n<sup>o</sup>. 210, pp. 1, 72. We use this and the other Marian editions on pp. 25-31.

<sup>9</sup> Ed. 1556. Emman. Coll. 'MSS. 4. 3. 25' *al.* 35. See *Hoskins*, n<sup>o</sup>. 221, pp. 1, 76.

<sup>10</sup> Ed. cir. 1556. (At Magd. Coll. Cam.) Pepys n<sup>o</sup>. 136; and York Minster fragment bound up in vol. xi. O. 28. See *Hoskins*, n<sup>o</sup>. 226, pp. 1, 77.

<sup>11</sup> Ed. cir. 1556. York Minster fragment sig. C<sup>(8-2)</sup>. See *Hoskins*, n<sup>o</sup>. 230, pp. 1, 78. Not cited in our notes. It barely covers pp. 42-50 in our present edition.

## A LIST OF SOME MSS.

Containing Prayers &c. connected with the Northern Province.

For students interested in liturgical MSS. relating to the Northern province the following references may perhaps be convenient. It will be seen at a glance that our debt to Dr James, the Provost of Eton, for his catalogues, produced so happily while he was at Cambridge, is immense.

The Fitzwilliam Missal, cir. 1470. *Catalogue of MSS. in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge*, by M. R. James, Litt.D., 1895, no. 34, pp. 87, 88.

A York Kalendar, bound with tables (solar, &c.), *Catalogue of MSS. of Trin. Coll. Cant.*, 1901, by the same; ii. pp. 358–361.

York Missal, cir. 1460–80 (used by Dr Henderson). Dr James's *Catal. of MSS. at Sidney Sussex Coll. Cam.*, 1895, pp. 16–18. (Δ. 2. 11, no. 33.) 'S. Rumalde' invoked in the Litany.

Psalter with Devotions, centuries xiii. & xiv., from Kirkham, *ibid.*, pp. 19, 20. (Δ. 2. 14, no. 36.)

*Diurnale* from an Augustinian monastery (perhaps Carlisle), centuries xiii.–xiv. Offices of St Outhbert and Corpus Christi. A memoria of Ric. Scrope, Abp added in cent. xv. *Sid. Suss. Coll.*, pp. 44, 45. (Δ. 3. 17, no. 62.)

York *Horae*, described by Mr H. Littlehales, in 1897, as MS. 'W.', as the property of Mrs Willett Cudwells, Lindfield, Haywards Heath, a MS. of xv<sup>th</sup> cent., in *The Prymer or Lay Folk's Prayer Book*, E.E.T.S., (O.S. 109), p. xli n.

York *Horae*, xv<sup>th</sup> cent. British Museum, Harl. MS. 1663, *ibid.*, ii., as MS. 'H,' p. xl n.

York *Horae*, xv<sup>th</sup> cent. (cir. 1420) York Minster, 16 G. 5. (*al.* xvi. K. 6) as MS. 'M,' *ibid.* ii. p. xli n.

The Durham Prymer, xv<sup>th</sup> or xvi<sup>th</sup> cent., cir. 1500, British Museum, MS. Harl. 1804, *ibid.* ii. p. xliii n.

Liber Precum, xv<sup>th</sup> cent., 'given by Lady Scrope to a monastery, probably in Yorkshire where St Honoratus of Lerins was held in veneration.' *Catal. of MSS. Clare College, Cambridge*, 1905, MS. no. 5, pp. 7–11. See MS. n<sup>o</sup>. 6 for suffrage of T. of Lancaster, p. 13, *ibid.*

Manual which belonged to the Chapel of St Giles by Brunton in Swaledale, and subsequently to the Chantry of St Giles in the Chapel of St John, Evang. in Ravensworth Castle: contains Matutine Passionis Domini, &c. ? cir. 1425–30. But *S. Osmunde*, as well as Oswalde, Rumalde (not as *Br.* 933), Hilda invoked in its (York) Litany. British Museum MS. Harl. 2431.

Votive hours (for a week) of Holy Trinity, Name of Jesus, the Holy Ghost, Passion, Wisdom, and Compassio B. Marie V., for the days of the week. Or. ad B. Johannem de Bridlington. B. Mus. MS. Royal 2 A. 17.

## SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS.

- A. = Steeple Ashton Vicarage MS. *Horae*.  
*An.*, or *Ant.* = antiphona, an anthem or antiphon.  
*B.* = the Bagford fragment of York *Horae*.  
*Ben.* = Benedictio.  
*Br.* = *Breviarium*:—viz. *Breviarium Eboracense*, except where ‘*Sar.*’ is specified.  
*Cap.* = *Capitulum*, a short lection.  
*Eb.*, or *Ebor.* = *Eboracensis*, of Eboracum (York): usually the *Horae* of that Use.  
*E.E.T.S.* = The Early English Text Society.  
*H. A. W.* = Henry Austin Wilson, M.A. Oxon.  
*H. G.* = Henry Gee, D.D., the Dean of Gloucester.  
*Hor.* = *Horae B. V. Mariae*.  
*J. T. F.* = Joseph Thomas Fowler, M.R.C.S.; Hon. D.C.L., Durham.  
*lf.* = leaf, *folium libri*.  
*Man.* = *Manuale*, liber ritualis.  
*N.E.Dict.* = The New English Dictionary (Oxford).  
*Or.* = *Oratio*, a collect or orison.  
*R.* = *Responsorium*, a response, or a respond.  
*Sar.* = *Sarisburyensis*, familiarly ‘*Sarum*,’ of Salisbury Use.  
*Sar.* 23, *Sar.* 35 = *Sarum Horae* or *Prymer*, printed in 1523, or 1535.  
*sig.* = signature of the gathering or quire of vellum or paper in a book.  
*Trin.* = MS. Psalter, &c. (O. 3. 10) at Trinity College, Cambridge.  
*V.* = *versus*, or *versiculus*.  
*W.* = Mrs Willett’s MS. *Prymer*, collated by H. Littlehales.  
*W. and White* = the *Novum Testamentum, Latine*, edited by J. Wordsworth and H. J. White.  
*Y.* = MS. 16 G. 5 in *York Minster Library*. On pp. 161–4, *Y.* = xi. O. 28.  
07 = Br. Ebor. 1507.  
17, 36, 55, 56 = *Hor. Ebor.* 1517–18, 1536, 1555, 1556.  
† = *sic*: we have used an *obelus* to show (generally) that the word or phrase preceding this sign has been studiously printed in this edition just as the scribe, or the xvi<sup>th</sup> century printer, left it.  
✠, ✠, ✠ (broken crosses, used on pp. 22, 23) = ‘metely’ (i.e. only moderately) good.





# HORÆ EBORACENSES

THE BOOK OF HOURS OF THE BLESSED  
VIRGIN MARY, WITH OTHER PRAYERS,  
ACCORDING TO THE USE OF THE  
CHURCH OF YORK,  
FROM THE EDITION PRINTED IN 1536,

## CONTAINING

- I. AN ALMANACK AND KALENDAR (TO WHICH ARE ADDED  
THE ABC AND GRACES, *from other editions*)
- II. THE MATINS AND OTHER HOURS OF THE DAILY OFFICE  
OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN AS SAID BY THE LAY  
FOLK
- III. OTHER DEVOUT PRAYERS WITH SUFFRAGES AND IN-  
STRUCTIONS



¶ *Hore beate Marie virginis,*

secundum vsum *Eboꝝ* totaliter ad longum  
sine require impresse pro *Johanne Marchant*  
ante ecclesiam diui *Macuti* Rothomageñ. sub  
intersignio duorꝝ vnicornium manente.



The Signature of the 1st leaf is:—

*Eboꝝ.*

A

The colophon which follows the *Tabula* or 'contents of this boke' on the last page of the volume, at the end of sheet S, is worded as follows:—

¶ *Expliciunt hore beatissime Marie virginis secundum vsum Eboraceñ, cum multis alijs orationibus iam vltimo in fine adiectis.*

Impresse *Rothomagi*, per *Nicolaum le roux* pro *Iohanne gropal*, et *Johanne marchant* in parochia sancti *Macuti* ad signum duarum† vnicornium manente.

[† duarum: sic, ed. 1536.

## ALMANAKE FOR .XVIII. YERES.

[From the back of the Title-page: 1536.]

<i>Numerus annorum</i>	<i>Pascha</i>	<i>Aureus numerus</i>	<i>Litera dominicalis</i>	<i>Bissext</i>
m.d. xxxv.	xxviii. mar.	xvi	C	
m.d. xxxvi.	xvi. aprilis	xvii	A	B
m.d. xxxvii.	i. aprilis	xviii	G	
m.d. xxxviii.	xxi. aprilis	xix	F	
m.d. xxxix.	vi. aprilis	i	E	
m.d. xl.	xxviii. mar.	ii	C	D
m.d. xli.	xvii. aprilis	iii	B	
m.d. xlii.	ix. aprilis	iiii	A	
m.d. xliii.	xxv. martij	v	G	
m.d. xliiii.	xiii. apri.	vi	E	F
m.d. xlvi.	v. aprilis	vii	D	
m.d. xlvi.	xxv. aprilis	viii	C	
m.d. xlvii.	x. aprilis	ix	B	
m.d. xlviii.	i. aprilis	x	G	A
m.d. xlix.	xxi. aprilis	xi	F	
m.d. l.	vi. aprilis	xii	E	
m.d. li.	xxix. Martij	xiii	D	
m.d. lij.	xxii. aprilis	xiiii	B	C

¶ Uvho that wyll knowe Ester day, The golden nombre, The dominicall lettre, And the leape yere, from the yere of our Lord M.d.xxxv. to the yere M.d.lij. inclusyuely, beholde this table in the date. And he shall fynde the fore sayd thynges.

\*lf. 2.] \*¶ The newe mone is cominly euery moneth in the fyfth day before the golden nombre that renneth<sup>1</sup> for the yere.

¶ In the yere ben .xij. monethes. lij. wekes, and one day, .ccclxv. dayes, and .vj. houres.

<sup>1</sup> renueth: 1536.



[The edition of 1517-18 introduces the following:—

<i>Saturnus</i>	respicit splen	<i>Venus</i>	respicit ren.
<i>Jupiter</i>	„ epar	<i>Mercurius</i>	„ ren.
<i>Mars</i>	„ epar	<i>Luna</i>	„ caput.
<i>Sol</i>	„ stomachum		

This is illustrated by a woodcut displaying the Anatomy of man, with a zany with foolscap bells and bauble playing between his legs<sup>1</sup>. Then follows the *Aspectus signorum*, which is thus given in our Lincoln unique copy of the edition of 1536.]

¶ *Aspectus duodecim signorum.*

Aries respicit caput.	Libra [respicit] vmbilicum et
Taurus respicit collum.	interiora ventris.
Gemini, scapulas, brachia, et manus.	Scorpio respicit pudenda.
Cancer, pectus et pulmonem.	Sagittarius, coxas.
Leo, stomachum et renes.	Capricornus, genua.
Virgo, intestina et epar.	Aquarius respicit tibias.
	Pisces respiciunt pedes.

[In our edition of 1536 the Kalendar for the twelve months of the year, including the woodcuts, and verses respecting the Twelve Ages of Man's Life, follows immediately after this Aspect of the Twelve Signs of the Zodiac. Other editions of the York *Horæ* supply information which was considered to be serviceable. It will be found in the present volume, next after the Kalendar itself.]

<sup>1</sup> A large figure of the Anatomical man or skeleton, and the Seven dominant Planets (with a little zany between the shanks) is shown as fig. 31 in the facsimile reprint of the 'nothomye' (or anatomy) in Dr H. O. Sommer's edition (4to., 1892) of the *Kalendar of Shepherdes*, from [A. Verard's] Paris edition, 1503, sig. g. 8 (*verso*). See Pynson's text of 1506, *ibid.*, part II., p. 102.

## JANUARIJ

**KL** *Januarius habet dies .xxxj. Luna vero .xxx.  
¶ Nox habet horas .xvi. Dies vero .viij.<sup>1</sup>*

iii	1	A	Circuncisio domini
	2	b	Octa. sancti stephani
xi	3	c	Octa. sancti iohannis
	4	d	Octa. sanctorum innocentium
xix	5	e	Depositio .s. edwardi confes.
viii	6	f	<i>Epyphania domini</i>
	7	g	<i>Translatio S. Vuillelmi semper in dominica prima post diem epiphantie. du. fes[tum]</i>
xvi	8	A	
v	9	b	
	10	c	Pauli primi heremite
xiii	11	d	<i>Sol in aquario.</i>
ii	12	e	archadij martyr
	13	f	Octa. epy. Hylarij & remigij [confes.]
x	14	g	felicis presbyteri. [non pontif.]
	15	A	mauri abbatis non pontificis
xviii	16	b	marcelli pape et marty.
vii	17	c	<i>Anthonij abbatis</i>
	18	d	prisce virginis & martyr
xy	19	e	sancti germani marty.
iiii	20	f	<i>Fabiani &amp; sebastiani mar. [ix. lec.]</i>
	21	g	agnetis virginis .ix. lec.
xii	22	A	<i>Vincentij marty. ix. lec.</i>
i	23	b	sancte emerentiane
	24	c	habile ep'i. sociorumque eius mar.
ix	25	d	<i>Conuersio sancti pauli .ix. lec.</i>
	26	e	policarpi episcopi & mar. [ix. lec.]
xvii	27	f	
vi	28	g	octa. sancte agnetis
	29	A	valerij episcopi
xiiii	30	b	batildis regine
iii	31	c	sancti saturnini

¶ Cyr·cum·staunt·ly·thre·kyngis·came·by·nyght  
By·an·hie·hyll·or·day·lyght  
An·tho·wl·graffe·ony·good·vyne  
Paule·call·for·Tho·mas·al·quine.

¶ In iano claris calidisque cibis potiaris.  
Atque decens potus post fercula sit tibi notus.  
Ledit enim medo potus tunc, vt bene credo.  
Balnea tunc intres, et venam findere cures.

<sup>1</sup> .xxxj ...xvi. ...viij. The use of final j, in numerals, appears to be thus capricious in the *Horae* of 1536.

## FEBRUARIJ

**KL** *Februarius habet dies .xxviij. Luna vero .xxix.*  
**¶** *Nox habet horas .xxiiij. dies .x.*

	1	d	brigide virgi. non martyris
xi	2	e	<i>Purificatio btē marie du. fes.</i>
xix	3	f	blasij episcopi
viii	4	g	sancti auertini
	5	A	agathe virginis & mar.
xvi	6	b	vedasti et amandi confes.
v	7	c	sancti auguli
	8	d	pauli episcopi
xiii	9	e	apolonie virginis
ii	10	f	scolastice virginis non mar.
	11	g	sancti seuerini
x	12	A	<i>Sol in piscibus.</i>
	13	b	valentini episcopi
xviii	14	c	sancti licinij episcopi
vii	15	d	sancti faustini & iouite
	16	e	
xv	17	f	policarpi episcopi
iiii	18	g	Symeonis epī & mar.
	19	A	
xii	20	b	mildrede virginis
i	21	c	
	22	d	<i>Cathedra .s. petri du. fes.</i>
ix	23	e	<i>Locus bissexti.</i>
	24	f	Mathie apl'i. du. fes.
xvii	25	g	
vi	26	A	
	27	b	
xiiii	28	c	

**¶** Bryde . Ma . ry . gyl . bert . har . de . ly  
 All . thy . frendes . stand . dyng . the . by .  
 And . pray . with the . to . dyne .  
 Pe . ter . Ma . thy . and . Au . styne .

**¶** Nascitur occulta febris februario multa.  
 Potibus ac escis vti si tunc bene nescis.  
 Frigus et horrorem fuge: pollice funde cruorem.  
 Suge fauum mellis quo morbum pectore pellis.

## MARCII

**KL** *Martius habet dies .xxxi. Luna vero .xxx.*  
**¶** *Nox habet horas .xii. Dies vero .xii.*

iii	1	d	albini confessoris
	2	e	<i>Cedde epi &amp; confes. ix. lec.</i>
xi	3	f	
	4	g	sancti adriani mar.
xix	5	A	foce eusebij et perpetue
viii	6	b	thome de aquino
	7	c	perpetue et felicitatis
xvi	8	d	depositio sancti feliceis
v	9	e	quadraginta martyrum
	10	f	
xiii	11	g	
ii	12	A	gregorii pape
	13	b	theodore matrone
x	14	c	<i>Sol in ariete.</i>
	15	d	longini mar.
xviii	16	e	hilarii episcopi
vii	17	f	<i>Intravit noe in archā.</i>
	18	g	<i>Edwardi regis</i>
xv	19	A	ioseph sponsi marie
iiii	20	b	sancti eutberti .ix. lec.
	21	c	benedicti abbatis .ix. lec.
xii	22	d	<i>Primum pascha.</i>
i	23	e	<i>Adam creatus est.</i>
	24	f	agapiti martyr
ix	25	g	<i>Annunciatio b. ma[rie]. du. fes.</i>
	26	A	castoris martyr
xvii	27	b	iohannis martyr
vi	28	c	dorothee virginis
	29	d	sancti eustachij
xliij	30	e	quirini martyr
iiij	31	f	adelmy martyr

**¶** Da .vyd .of .wales .lo .ueth .wel .lekes  
 That .wyll .make .gre .go .ry .lene .chekes.  
 Yf .ed .warde .do .eate .some .with .them  
 Ma .ry .sende .hym .to .bed .lem.

**¶** Martius humores gignit, variosque labores.  
 Sume cibum pure : cocturas, si placet, vre.  
 Balnea sunt sana : sed queque superflua vana.  
 Vena nec abdenda : nec potio sit tribuenda.



APRILIS

**KL** *Aprilis habet dies .xxx. Luna vero .xxix.  
 ☞ Nox habet horas .x. Dies vero .xiiii.*

	1	g	theodore virginis
xi	2	A	marie egiptiace
	3	b	richardi episcopi et confes.
xix	4	c	ambrosii ep̃i
viii	5	d	martiniani martyris
xvi	6	e	sixti pape et mar.
v	7	f	sancte euphemie
	8	g	sancti perpetui
xiii	9	A	sancti hugonis
ii	10	b	passio septem virginum
	11	c	leonis pape
ix†	12	d	
	13	e	<i>Sol in tauro.</i>
xviii	14	f	tyburchii & valeriani
vii	15	g	<i>Claues rogationū.</i>
	16	A	sancti isidori
xv	17	b	aniceti pape
iiii	18	c	transla. s. renati
	19	d	alphegi episcopi
xii	20	e	victoris pape
i	21	f	symeonis episcopi & mar.
	22	g	sancte praxedis
ix	23	A	Georgii martyris
	24	b	wilfridi ep̃i. du. f.
xvii	25	c	Marci euangeliste. du. fes.
vi	26	d	<i>Ultimum pascha.</i>
	27	e	anastasii pape
xiiii	28	f	vitalis martyris
iii	29	g	trans. sancti libori
	30	A	sancte gertrudis

☞ In .A. pryll .am .brose .is .fayne  
 To .se .vs .was .shed .with .rayne.  
 Os .walde .forth .with .sent .vic .tore  
 with .Geor .and .marke .to .do .so .no .more.

☞ Se probat in vere vires Aprilis habere.  
 Cuncta renascuntur, pori tunc aperiuntur.  
 In quo scalpescit corpus, sanguis quoque crescit.  
 Ergo soluatur venter : cruor et minuatur.

† *leg. x.* (Apr. 12). An *obelus*, or dagger, †, here (and usually) marks an error, or an unusual reading in the old printed volume.

\* Lf. 9. | Sig.  
 " Eb03.  
 B" ]

## \*MAIJ

**KL** *Mayus habet dies .xxxi. Luna vero .xxx.  
 ¶ Nox habet horas .viij. dies .xvj.*

xī	1	b	<i>Philippi &amp; iacobi dup. f.</i>
	2	c	<i>athanasij episcopi</i>
xix	3	d	<i>Inuentio .s. crucis. Alex[andri] euentii et theodoli marty.</i>
viii	4	e	
	5	f	<i>sancti godardi</i>
xvi	6	g	<i>ioh'is ante portam lati[nam] .ix. l'.</i>
v	7	A	<i>Ioh'is de beuerlati† du. f.</i>
	8	b	
xiii	9	c	<i>transla. sancti nicolai</i>
ii	10	d	<i>gordiani et epimachi</i>
	11	e	<i>anthonii martyr</i>
x	12	f	<i>nerei achilei &amp; pancra[cii]. mar.</i>
	13	g	<i>seruatii confessoris</i>
xviii	14	A	<i>sancti bonifacii</i>
viii†	15	b	
	16	c	<i>brandani episcopi</i>
xv	17	d	<i>sancti carpetis</i>
iiii	18	e	<i>dioscori martyr</i>
	19	f	
xii	20	g	<i>sancti bernardi</i>
i	21	A	<i>helene virginis</i>
	22	b	
ix	23	c	<i>sancti desiderii</i>
	24	d	<i>donatiani et rogatiani</i>
xvii	25	e	<i>sancti aldelmi</i>
vi	26	f	<i>Sancti augustini</i>
	27	g	
xiiiij	28	A	<i>geruasij episcopi</i>
iiij	29	b	<i>corone martyr</i>
	30	c	
xi	31	d	<i>petronille virginis</i>

¶ *Iames .toke .Crosse .was .ters<sup>1</sup> .iohñ .to .kyll'.*  
*Ni .co .las .sayd .do .hym .none .yll.*  
*But .with .that .came .fayre .he .laine*  
*And .fran .ceys .to .de .parte .them .twayne.*

¶ *Mayo secure laxari sit tibi cure.*  
*Scindatur vena, sed balnea dentur amena.*  
*Cum calidis rebus sint fercula seu speciebus.*  
*Potibus ast[r]icta sit saluia cum benedicta.*

† *leg. vij. (May 15).*

<sup>1</sup> *Crosse wasters : cudgels with handles.*

JUNII

**KL** *Junius habet dies .xxx. Luna vero .xxix.*  
**¶** *Nox habet horas .vi. dies .xviii.*

	1	e	nicomedis'martyris
xix	2	f	marcellini et petri m'rum
viii	3	g	lifardi presbiteri
xvi	4	A	sancti petrocii <i>confe. non pontifi.</i>
v	5	b	bonifacii pape et marty.
	6	c	sancti claudi
xiii	7	d	medardi & gylwardi
ii	8	e	<i>Sancti vuillelmi. conf. du. fe.</i>
	9	f	primi & feliciani marty.
ix†	10	g	iuonis confessoris
	11	A	<i>Barnabe apostoli</i>
xviii	12	b	basilidis cirini & naboris m'rum
vii	13	c	
	14	d	basilii epi et confes.
xv	15	e	viti & modesti
iiii	16	f	cirici & iulite
	17	g	botulphi abbatis
xii	18	A	marci & marcelliani m'rum
i	19	b	geruasii & prothasii mar.
	20	c	sancti eduardi
ix	21	d	leufredi abbatis
	22	e	albani martyris
xvii	23	f	eteldrede virgi. Uigilia
vi	24	g	<i>Natiuitas ioh'is bap. d. f.</i>
	25	A	trans. scti eligii episcopi
xiiii	26	b	iohannis et pauli mar.
iii	27	c	sancti saturnini
	28	d	leonis pape. Uigilia
xi	29	e	<i>Petri et pauli du. festum</i>
	30	f	commemoratio pauli ix. l'c.

¶ In .June .e .ras .mus .dyde .tynke†.  
 For .to .gxue[?give] Bar .na .be .drynke.  
 But .than .bo .tulph .tought † .it .me .ter  
 That .Johñ .sholde .drynke .be .fore .Pe .ter.

¶ In iunio gentes perturbat medo bibentes.  
 Tunque nouellarum fuge potus ceruisiarum.  
 Ne noceat cholera valet ista refectio vera.  
 Lactuce frondes ede, ieiunus † bibe fontes.

† (Jun. 10). *leg. x.*

## JULIJ

**KL** *Julius habet dies .xxx. Luna vero .xxix.*  
**¶** *Nox habet horas .viii. Dies vero .xvi.*

xix	1	g	octa. iohannis baptiste
viii	2	A	swithini ep̃i : processi & martin[iani]
	3	b	
xvi	4	c	transla. sancti martini
v	5	d	iacuti abbatis
	6	e	octa. petri et pauli
xiii	7	f	trans. s. thome mar. ix. lec.
ii	8	g	grimbaldi confessoris
	9	A	gertrudis v'g. nō mar. ix. lec.
x	10	b	septem fratrum martyrum
	11	c	sancti benedicti
xviii	12	d	
vii	13	e	sancti priuati
	14	f	sancti donatiani
xv	15	g	sancti iacobi
iiii	16	A	<i>Sol in leone.</i>
	17	b	alexij confessoris
xii	18	c	arnulphi episcopi
i	19	d	arsenij abbatis
	20	e	margarete virg. & mar. ix. lec.
ix	21	f	praxedis virginis
	22	g	<i>Marie magdalene</i>
xvii	23	A	apollinaris mar.
vi	24	b	christine virg. Uigilia
	25	c	<i>Sancti iacobi ap'li. duḡ. fes.</i>
xiiii	26	d	<i>S. anne matris marie .ix. v'c.</i>
iii	27	e	septem dormientium
	28	f	sancti sansonis episcopi
xi	29	g	felicis pape
	30	A	abdon et sennes marty.
xix	31	b	germani episcopi & confes.

**¶** VVhan . Ma . ry . vi . si . ted . Tho . mas .  
The . fre . ers . lete . teyr † . dogs . out . pas .  
Thā . came . forth . mar . get . mag . da . layn .  
James . an . marth . and . o . ther . tvvayn .

**¶** Qui vult solamen iulio probet hoc medicamen.  
Venam non scindat : nec ventrem potio ledat.  
Somnum compescat : et balnea cuncta timescat.  
Sana recens unda : simul allia : saluia munda.

## AUGUSTI

**KL** *Augustus habet dies .xxxi. Luna vero .xxx.*  
**☾** *Nox habet horas .x. dies vero .xiiij.*

viii	1	c	<i>Petri ad vincula</i>
xvi	2	d	<i>Stephani pape et mar.</i>
v	3	e	<i>Inuentio sancti Stephani</i>
	4	f	<i>sancti dominici confessoris</i>
xiii	5	g	<i>festum oswaldi</i>
	ii	A	<i>Sixti ep̄i fel[icis] &amp; agapiti m̄.</i>
	7	b	<i>festum nominis iesu. donati mar.</i>
x	8	c	<i>ciriaci cum socijs</i>
	9	d	<i>Romani mar. Uigilia</i>
xviii	10	e	<i>Laurentij martyrīs</i>
vii	11	f	<i>tyburcii martyrīs</i>
	12	g	<i>sancte clare</i>
xv	13	A	<i>ypoliti cum socijs</i>
iiii	14	b	<i>eusebij confes. Uigilia</i>
	15	c	<i>Assumptio b. ma[rie]. du. fes.</i>
xii	16	d	<i>Sol in virgine.</i>
i	17	e	<i>octa. sancti laurentij</i>
	18	f	<i>agapiti martyrīs</i>
ix	19	g	<i>Magni martyrīs</i>
	20	A	<i>sancti haduini episcopi</i>
xvii	21	b	<i>priuati martyrīs</i>
vi	22	c	<i>octa. assumptio. beate ma[rie]</i>
	23	d	<i>sancti claudi. Uigilia</i>
xiiii	24	e	<i>Bartholomei apl'i. du. fes.</i>
iii	25	f	<i>hilde virginis non mar.</i>
	26	g	<i>sancti seuerini</i>
xi	27	A	<i>rufi martyrīs</i>
xix	28	b	<i>augustini et hermetis mar.</i>
	29	c	<i>Decollatio scti ioh'is bap.</i>
viii	30	d	<i>felicis et adaucti</i>
	31	e	<i>audoeni ep̄i et confes.</i>

☾ Pe . ter . cal . led . for . Jesu.  
 And . bade . Lau . rence . for . to . say . tru.  
 Ma . ry . se . yng . all . theyr . de . bate.  
 Made . Bar . thyll . mew . to . breke . Johñs . pa . te.

☾ Quisque sub augusto viuat medicamine iusto  
 Raro dormitet, estum coitum quoque vitet.  
 Balnea non curet, nec multa comestio duret.  
 Nemo laxari debet, vel phlebothomari.



## SEPTEMBRIS

*KL* September habet dies .xxx. Luna vero .xxix.

¶ Nox habet horas .xii. dies .xii.

xvi	1	f	egidii abbatis
v	2	g	anthonii marty.
	3	A	ordinatio s. gregorii
xiii	4	b	cuthberti moisi confes. birini epi et confes.
ii	5	c	
	6	d	sancti eugenii
x	7	e	euurcii epi & confes. Uigilia
	8	f	Natiuitas beate marie]. du. fe.
xviii	9	g	gregorii mar.
vii	10	A	
	11	b	prothi & iacineti mar.
xv	12	c	martiniani episcopi
iiii	13	d	mauricii epi et confes.
	14	e	Exaltatio]. s. crucis.
xii	15	f	cipriani mar. nicomedi mar.
i	16	g	Euphemie lucie et ger. [geminiani]
	17	A	lamberti martyris
ix	18	b	ferreoli presbiteri
	19	c	ianuarii mar.
xvii	20	d	Uigilia
vi	21	e	Mathei apostoli
	22	f	mauricii cum sociis mar.
xiiii	23	g	tecle virginis et mar.
iii	24	A	andochii mar.
	25	b	firmini epi et mar.
xi	26	c	cipriani & iustine
xix	27	d	cosme et damiani
	28	e	exuperi episcopi
viii	29	f	Michaelis archangeli
	30	g	hieronymi presbyteri

¶ Gi.les.was.cut.to.his.losse.  
 Ma.ry.sayd.nay.by.this.Crosse.  
 For.e.dyth.sawe.hov[v].that.ma.thew.  
 Dyde.bent.fre.min.cosme.mygh.ew.

¶ Fructus maturi septembri sunt valituri.  
 Et pyra cum vino, panis cum lacte caprino.  
 Quanque dat vrtica, tibi potio fertur amica.  
 Tunc venam pandas: species cum semine mandas.

OCTOBRIS

**KL** *October habet dies .xxxi. Luna vero .xxx.*  
**¶** *Nox habet horas .xiiii. dies .x.*

xvi	1	A	remigii & germani confes'.
v	2	b	leodegarij epi .ix. lectio[n]es
xiii	3	c	candidi mar.
ii	4	d	francisci confessoris
	5	e	apolinaris mar.
x	6	f	fidis virginis & mar.
	7	g	marci pape marcellini
xviii	8	A	pelagie matrone .ix. lec.
vii	9	b	dionisii et sociorum .ix. lec.
	10	c	gereonis m. pauli conf. ix. lec.
xv	11	d	nichasii archiepi cum so[ciis]
iiii	12	e	sancti VVilfridi du. fe.
	13	f	trans. eduardi confes. ix. l'e.
xii	14	g	calixti pape & martiris
ii†	15	A	sancti vulfranni confes.
	16	b	<i>Sol in scorpione.</i>
x†	17	c	etheldrede virginis
	18	d	<i>Luce euangeliste. du. fe.</i>
xvii	19	e	festum reliquiarum du. fe.
vi	20	f	austreberte virg. non mar.
	21	g	vndecim milium virgi.
xiiii	22	A	marie salome
iii	23	b	sancti romani
	24	c	crispini et crispiniani m[arty]rum
xi	25	d	<i>Trans. s. iohan beuer[lacensis]. du. fe.</i>
*xix	26	e	euaristi pape
	27	f	Uigilia
viii	28	g	<i>Symonis et iude</i>
	29	A	translatio s. yuonis
xvi	30	b	germani episcopi
v	31	c	quintini mar. Uigilia

[\*Lf. 17.  
 Sig.  
 "Eboz.  
 C".

**¶** Full .lyght .was .fran .ceys .fayth .at .rome.  
 De .nys .conde .[? could] .not .ed .war .oure .come.  
 Tyll .luke .with .a † .leuen .thou .sande.  
 Made .crys .pin .and .Sy .mon .to .stande.

**¶** October vina prebet cum carne ferina.  
 Neenon aucina caro tunc valet et volucrina.  
 Quamuis sit sana tamen est repletio vana.  
 Quantum vis comede, sed non precordia lede.

† leg. i. (Oct. 15).

‡ leg. ix. (Oct. 17).

## NOUEMBRIS

**KL** *November habet dies .xxx. Luna vero .xxix.*  
**¶** *Nox habet horas .xvi. Dies vero .viij.*

	1	d	<i>Festum omnium sanctorum</i>
xiii	2	e	<i>Commemoratio animarum</i>
ii	3	f	<i>wenefredi† virg. Eustachij cum so[ciis]</i>
	4	g	
x	5	A	<i>clari martyris</i>
	6	b	<i>leonardi abbatis</i>
xviii	7	c	<i>sancti willibrordi ep̄i et confes.</i>
vii	8	d	<i>quatuor coronatorum mar.</i>
	9	e	<i>theodori martyris</i>
xv	10	f	<i>martini pape</i>
iiii	11	g	<i>Martini episcopi</i>
	12	A	<i>sancti renati episcopi</i>
xii	13	b	<i>brictii episcopi</i>
i	14	c	
	15	d	<i>macuti ep̄i et confes.</i>
ix	16	e	<i>depositio edmundi. ix. lec.</i>
	17	f	<i>aniani ep̄i et confessoris</i>
xvii	18	g	<i>octa. sancti martini</i>
vi	19	A	<i>sancte elizabeth</i>
	20	b	<i>edmundi regis &amp; mar.</i>
xiiii	21	c	<i>sancti columbani</i>
iii	22	d	<i>cecilie virginis et mar,</i>
	23	e	<i>clementis .ix. lectionum</i>
xi	24	f	<i>grisogonis martyris</i>
xix	25	g	<i>Katherine virginis</i>
	26	A	<i>lini pape et martyris</i>
viii	27	b	<i>sancti eusebij confessoris</i>
	28	c	<i>rufi martyris</i>
xvi	29	d	<i>saturnini mar. Uigilia</i>
v	30	e	<i>Andree apostoli du. f<sup>o</sup>.</i>

**¶** Saynts .soules .in .heuen .ben .sic .ker<sup>1</sup>.  
 As .say .eth .Mar .tyn .bryc .ker.  
 Re .corde .hue .and .besse .that .tell .can.  
 Cle .ment .ka .the .rin .and .sat .An.

**¶** *Hoc tibi scire datur quod reuma nouembre curatur.*  
*Queque nociua vota (l. veta): tua sit preciosa dieta.*  
*Balnea cum venere tunc non conducit habere.*  
*Potio tunc sana, tunc nulla minutio vana.*

<sup>1</sup> sic .ker = sicer, safe, sure.

DECEMBRIS

**KL** *December habet dies .xxxi. Luna vero .xxx.*  
**¶** *Nox habet horas .xviii. Dies .vi.*

	1	f	<i>Crisanti et darie mar.</i>
xiii	2	g	claudij episcopi
ii	3	A	depositio sancti edmundi
x	4	b	<i>Barbare virginis</i>
	5	c	sabbe abbatis
xviii	6	d	<i>Nicolai episcopi</i>
vii	7	e	octa. sancti andree
	8	f	<i>Conceptio v'te marie. du. fe.</i>
xv	9	g	cipriani abbatis
iiii	10	A	sancte eulalie
	11	b	damasci † pape
xii	12	c	sancti corentini
i	13	d	lucie virginis
	14	e	<i>Sol in capricornio</i>
ix	15	f	sancti valeriani
	16	g	<i>O sapientia</i>
xvii	17	A	lazari episcopi
vi	18	b	sancti gaciani
	19	c	
xiiii	20	d	Vigilia
iii	21	e	<i>Thome ap'li. du. fes.</i>
	22	f	sancti honorati
xi	23	g	sancti victorini
xix	24	A	Vigilia
	25	b	<i>Natiuitas domini</i>
xviii	26	c	<i>Stephani prothomart.</i>
	27	d	<i>Iohannis euangeliste</i>
xvi	28	e	<i>Sanctorum innocentium</i>
v	29	f	<i>Thome cantuariensis</i>
	30	g	sancti vrsini archiep'i
xiii	31	A	sancti siluestri pape.

**¶** Loy . was . bar . ber . to . Ni . coll.  
 Ma . ry . pray . thou . for . lu . ces . soll.  
 And . for . grace . good . tho . mas . ynde  
 To . Crist . Steuen . Johā . Chylde . Tho . be . kynde.

Sane sunt membris calide res mense Decembris.  
 Frigus vitetur, capitalis vena secetur.  
 Lotio tunc vana : sed ventri potio sana  
 Sit tepidus potus, pugnans cum frigore totus.

[The Kalendar of 1536 is followed immediately by the Gospel  
*In principio*, without adding any further miscellaneous information;  
 but other editions supply here what we print on pp. 21-31.]

## NOTES ON THE KALENDAR.

Prefixed to each month of the Kalendar in our edition of 1536 there is a woodcut ( $2\frac{7}{8} \times 2$  inches) and a quatrain illustrating one of the twelve 'ages,' or periods of six years, into which the human span of 72 years was divided. The 4to Sarum *Horæ* printed by F. Regnault at Paris in 1535-6 is furnished with an almost identical set of woodcuts, but the ornamental borders and certain details serve to distinguish them. The appropriate sign of the zodiac is introduced at the top of each picture, excepting the last where the figures in the drawing are too numerous to leave sufficient space. The Sarum blocks are wider, some by  $\frac{1}{16}$  inch, others by  $\frac{1}{8}$  th.

1. *Januarius*. (Zodiacal sign, *Aquarius*.) Four or five children at play, with windmills on sticks, winding up a peg-top: one child rides a hobby horse; another tosses a popinjay (tied by a string) across to his playmate.

¶ The fyrst .vj. yeres of mannes byrth and aege  
 May wel be compared to Janyuere:  
 For in this month is no strength nor courage  
 More than in a chylde of<sup>1</sup> aege of .vi. yere.

2. *Februarius*. (*Pisces*.) A schoolmaster in his chair holds a birch rod in his left hand. Several elder persons with books sit before him. On his right side are two lads, one writing in the book which rests on his master's knee.

¶ The other .vi. yeres is like february,  
 In the ende ther of beginneth the springe:  
 That tyme chyl dren is moost apt and redy  
 To receyue chastisement, nuture, and lerninge.

3. *Martius*. (*Aries*.) A young man with greyhounds, 'shooting in the long-bow.' A bird hung at his belt. Two older men attend him, one bearing a cross-bow.

¶ Marche betokeneth the .vi. yeres folowinge  
 Arayeng the erthe with pleasaunt verdure.  
 That season youth careth for nothings  
 And withouth<sup>†</sup> thought dooth his sporte and pleasure.

4. *Aprilis*. (*Taurus*.) The young man, holding a flower in his left hand, takes with his right hand the arm of a maiden with rosary at her waist. Her handmaid follows them.

¶ The next .vi. yere maketh foure and twenty  
 And fygured is to ioly Apryll.  
 That tyme of pleasures man hath moost plenty  
 Freshe and louyng his lustes to fulfyll.

<sup>1</sup> of the: *Sarum Horæ*, 1535.



5. *Mayus. (Gemini.)* He rides on horseback, she riding behind him on a pillion, her feet on the hanging board, a flower in her right hand. How the maid gets along with baggage in the background is not so evident. A poodle runs by the side.

¶ As in the month of Maye all thyng is in myght  
So at .xxx. yeres man is in chyef lykyng<sup>1</sup>,  
Pleausaunt and lusty, to euery mannes syght.  
In beaute and strength to women pleasyng.

6. *Junius. (Cancer.)* The betrothal. The priest wearing cassock, surplice, and stole ornamented with 12 or more crosses, joins their (ungloved) hands at the church door. The bride in her hair, crowned with a garland, wears immense sleeves.

¶ In June all thing falleth to ripenesse  
And so dooth man at .xxxvi.<sup>2</sup> yere olde  
And studieth for to acquire richesse  
And taketh a wyfe to kepe his householde.

7. *Julius. (Leo.)* They sit in the home with a little boy in leading-strings. Nursemaid and serving-man in the background.

¶ At .xl. yere of aege, or elles neuer,  
Is ony man endowed with wysdome.  
For thence forth<sup>3</sup> his myght faileth euer  
As in July dooth euery blossome.

8. *Augustus. (Virgo.)* His steward, with donkey, brings fruit and corn. A labourer lifts sheaves into the granary on a pitchfork, where a woman stores them.

¶ The goodes of the erthe is gadred euermore  
In August, so at .xlviii. yere  
Man ought to gather some goodes in store  
To susteyne<sup>4</sup> aege, that then draweth nere.

9. *September. (Libra.)* A needy beggar, driven away from the door by a fierce dog.

¶ Lete no man thynke for to gather plenty  
Yf at .liiii. yere he haue none.  
Nomore than yf his barne were empty  
In Septembre, whan all the corne is gone.

10. *October. (Scorpio.)* The husband, wearing his hat, and his wife and boy and girl at dinner, square trenchers &c. on table. She carves without a fork. Serving-man and woman wait upon them.

¶ By October betokeneth .lx. yere  
That aege hastely doothe man assayle<sup>5</sup>.  
Yf he haue ought, than it dooth appere  
To lyue quyetly after his trauayle.

<sup>1</sup> thy offy kyng : 36.

<sup>2</sup> 'xxvi' : 1536.

<sup>3</sup> than for thou : 1536 ; than forgh : Sar. 35 (l. thence forth on).

<sup>4</sup> susteyde : 36.

<sup>5</sup> ossayle : 36.

11. *November. (Sagittarius.)* The sick man in his chair. The physician diagnoses his symptoms.

¶ Whan man is at .lxvi. yere olde,  
Whiche lykned is to bareyne Nouembre,  
He wexeth vnweldy, sekely and colde,  
Than his<sup>1</sup> soule helth in tyme to remembre.

12. *December. [Capricornus.]*<sup>2</sup> At the death-bed the priest, with stole as before, places the taper in the man's hand. The wife, wearing large cuffs, as before, is praying. The clerk holds the manual open. The manservant and maid in the background.

¶ The yere by decembre taketh his ende  
And so dooth man, at thre score and twelve:  
Nature with<sup>3</sup> aege wyll him no<sup>4</sup> message sende.  
The tyme is come<sup>5</sup>, that he must go hymselfe<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> is: 36.

<sup>2</sup> The sign of the zodiac is not introduced into the woodcut either in the York or the Sarum book, for the month of December.

<sup>3</sup> wit: 36.

<sup>4</sup> on: Sar. 35.

<sup>5</sup> They tme is is come: 36. Tho tyme is come: Sar. 35.

<sup>6</sup> hy selue: 36. (*for hymselfe.*)

\* \* \* EDITOR'S NOTE. The absence of any notice of Nones, Ides or Kalends (saving the large letters *KL*, rubricated at the head of every month) is noticeable in the little book of 1536. I have ventured to retain this feature of the 12<sup>mo</sup>, as the original users must have used the book as it was. In one respect I have deviated from it by printing the numbers of the days of the month in (arabic) *clarendon* type, in place of the roman numerals, and have transferred them from the right-hand margin to the column where some experience of kalendars has taught me to find them most convenient in the case of a book of 8<sup>vo</sup> or larger size.

The Canon of Ebbs and Floods, *from the Horae of 1517-18.*

BRISTOWE SANWITHE<sup>1</sup>. BERWICH<sup>2</sup>. LONDON

¶ *The canon of ebbys and flodes.*

Etas lune	Eest		So West <sup>3</sup>		West	
	Hora	minut.	Hor.	min.	Hor.	min.
i	vi	xlvi	xii	xlvi	iii	xlvi
ii	vii	xxxvi	i	xxxvi	iiii	xxxvi
iii	viii	xxiiii	ii	xxiiii	v	xxiiii
iv	ix	xii	iii	xii	vi	xii
v	x	0	iiii	0	vii	0
vi	x	xlvi	iiii	xlvi	vii	xlvi
vii	xi	xxxvi	v	xxxvi	viii	xxxvi
viii	xii	xxiiii	vi	xxiiii	ix	xxiiii
ix	i	xii	vii	xii	x	xii
x	ii	0	viii	0	xi	0
xi	ii	xlvi	viii	xlvi	xi	xlvi
xii	iii	xxxvi	ix	xxxvi	xii	xxxvi
xiii	iiii	xxiiii	x	xxiiii	i	xxiiii
xiiii	v	xii	xi	xii	ii	xii
xv	vi	0	xii	0	iii	0
xvi	vi	xlvi	xii	xlvi	iii	xlvi
xvii	vii	xxxvi	i	xxxvi	iiii	xxxvi
xviii	viii	xxiiii	ii	xxiiii	v	xxiiii
xix	ix	xii	iii	xii	vi	xii
xx	x	0	iiii	0	vii	0
xxi	x	xlvi	iiii	xlvi	vii	xlvi
xxii	xi	xxxvi	v	xxxvi	viii	xxxvi
xxiii	xii	xxiiii	vi	xxiiii	ix	xxiiii
xxiv	i	xii	vii	xii	x	xii
xxv	ii	0	viii	0	xi	0
xxvi	ii	xlvi	viii	xlvi	xi	xlvi
xxvii	iii	xxxvi	ix	xxxvi	xii	xxxvi
xxviii	iiii	xxiiii	x	xxiiii	i	xxiiii
xxix	v	xii	xi	xii	ii	xii
xxx	vi	0	xii	0	iii	0
West <sup>6</sup>			Nort(h)est <sup>7</sup>		Northe	

Thys table folowenge seruythetoknowethefull flodes and ebbys of anye hauen or port so that ye knowe what costes the mone is of the fyrmamentt wychemakethe hygh floode att anye portt or hauen thatt ye desyer to know as London the mone beynge in the coste sowthe weste and northeest makethe full water at London.

Nota bene. Exaample, I desyre to knowe the full floode att London the mone beynge iii. dayes olde: soo entre ye in too the fyrste lyne of the table called etas lune, that ys to say the ayge of the mone, and descende<sup>4</sup> unto the iii. daye correspondentt to that iii., and vnder the tytle for London ye shalle fyende .vi. owers and .xii. mynuettys, soo conclude that when the mone ys iii. dayes olde, than ys hytt full floode att London att .vi. of the cloke and .xii. mynuettys after bothe in mornynge and also att .vi. a cloke and .xii. mynuettys att nyghte and in thys maner of forme ye<sup>5</sup> maye knowe att all other portes, so that ye knowe what coste the mone hathe for thatt place.

<sup>1</sup> Sandwythe: Sar. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Berwycke: Sar. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Southeest: Sar. 23.

<sup>4</sup> destēde†: 18.

<sup>5</sup> ie†: 18.

<sup>6</sup> North: Sar. 23.

<sup>7</sup> Northeest: Sar. 23.

¶ Tabula presens indicat locum lune scilicet in quo signo circuli zodiaci luna sit omni die, et in qua parte humani corporis ipsa luna dominatur in signis correspondentibus illis membris corporis.

Nomina xii mensium	litera [dierū]	aureus [numerus]	xii. signa [zodiaci]	gradus [signorū]	[Dies electi]		
					Pro flebo- thomia	Pro medicinis recipiend.	Pro balneo in- trando
Feb. Nouember	[a]	iii	<i>Aries</i>	xiii	✕	✕	✕
<i>Martius</i>	b		<i>Aries</i>	xxvi	✕	✕	✕
	c	xiii[i]	<i>Thaurus</i>	x		malum	
<i>December</i>	d	vi	<i>Thaurus</i>	xxiii		malum	
	e		<i>Gemini</i>	vi	m	✕	✕
<i>Aprilis</i>	f	xvii	<i>Gemini</i>	xix	m	✕	✕
	g	ix	<i>Cancer</i>	ii	✕	✕	✕
<i>Maii</i>	h	[i]	<i>Cancer</i>	xv	✕	✕	✕
	i		<i>Cancer</i>	xxix	✕	✕	✕
	k	xii	<i>Leo</i>	xii	m	m	✕
	l	iiii	<i>Leo</i>	xxv	m	m	✕
<i>Junius</i>	m		<i>Virgo</i>	viii		malum	
	n	xv	<i>Virgo</i>	xxi		malum	
<i>Julius</i>	o	vii	<i>Libra</i>	iiii	✕	✕	✕
	p		<i>Libra</i>	xviii	✕	✕	✕
	q	xviii	<i>Scorpio</i>	i	✕	✕	m
	r	x	<i>Scorpio</i>	xiii	✕	✕	m
<i>Augustus</i>	s	ii	<i>Scorpio</i>	xxviii	✕	✕	m
	t		<i>Sagittar'</i>	x	✕	✕	✕
	v	xiii	<i>Sagittar'</i>	xxiii	✕	✕	✕
	x	v	<i>Capricor.</i>	viii		malum	
<i>September</i>	y		<i>Capricor.</i>	xxii		malum	
	z	xvi	<i>Aquari</i> <sup>9</sup>	vi	✕	✕	✕
<i>Jan. October</i>	&	viii	<i>Aquari</i> <sup>9</sup>	xx	✕	✕	✕
	con		<i>Pisces</i>	iiii	✕	✕	✕
	ā	[xix]	<i>Pisces</i>	xv	✕	✕	✕
	est	[xi]	<i>Pisces</i>	xxx	✕	✕	✕
	dierum numerus	[aureus] numerus	[xii. signa] zodiaci	[gradus] signorū.	<i>Dies electi</i>	<i>Dies electi</i>	<i>Dies electi</i>

\* \* \* [The process detailed in the "example," printed on the opposite page, seems obscure. Mr Eustace F. Bosanquet has kindly supplied the necessary interpretation, which will be found in one of the prefatory notes appended to our Introduction.]

*The canon for lettyng of blode.*

¶ Thys present table showethe daylyi whatt sygne and degre of the zodiake that the mone ys in whyche sygnes haue respecte to .xii. parties of mannys bodey and answeringe to the .xii. sygnes of the forseyed zodiake, as more playenly apperet(h)e in thys ymage hereafter folowyng.

*Nota bene.* And to the vnderstandyng, vse and declaratyon of thys table folowyng doo in thys wyse[:] by exawmple, i desyere to knowe in whatt sygne and degre the mone shalbe the .xii. daye of September Anno M. cccc[c]. and viij.<sup>1</sup>; Fyrste seke the name of the monethe of September in the table, whyche fownde, rekene from hytt vnto the termynation of .xii. dayes, thatt ys to weytte, ye shall begynne there as 'September' stondythe prented, accowntyng that daye on the whyche ys 'y,' and soo descendyng downe wardes amonge yowre letters on to the laste letter or syllable 'est,' retownryng than from 'est' to the begynnynge of the table att the letter A., and than the termynatyon of the .xii. daye of September ye shalle fynde amonge the letters t[h]ys letter F, whyche f note in yowre mynde. Than nexte ensuyng in thys table ye shalle enserche and seke for the pryme, otherwyse called *aureus numerus* of thys presentt yere, wyche ys .viii. vppon the whyche dyrectly am† amonge the letters of the crosse rewe correspondentt to viii. ye shall begynne with the fyrste letter of the crosse rewe A., and than, descendyng, B., and soo forthe successyuely, vnto ye come on to this letter F., before noted in yowre mynde, whyche in the table of letters endythe uppon B., and dyrectely therto answeryng for yowre conclusion ye shalle fynde the mone in *Ariete* the .xxvj. degreys wyth a ✠ crosse, whyche ys vvery good for blode letyng, and thys ✠ crosse, whyche ys meane to resue medycyne *attractyue*<sup>2</sup>, and the .iii. ✠ ys good for to entre in to the st[e]we or baythe<sup>3</sup>. And in thys maner ye shalle p[ro]ceede for any other daye of anye other monethe.

¶ Quoniam autem nonnulli queritant tempora incisioni venarum apta, habetque luna plurimum potestatis in ea re aliis atque aliis recepta signis, non absente videtur hic attexere generales quasdam signorum proprietates, quibusque partibus humani corporis singula accommodari soleant, vt quamuis breui ac crasso quodam argumento signa apta ineptaque internoscantur.

¶ Aries, ut perhibent authores, calidus et siccus est atque igneus, caput hominis totum sibi vendicans, aptus incisioni vene.

<sup>1</sup> The Prime or Golden Number for the year 1408 was not 8 but 3; but it was 8 for A.D. 1508. The table was made for use in the sixteenth century. The date M. ccccc.viii is in fact so given in a Sarum Prymer of 1523.

<sup>2</sup> i.e., the broken cross (the 2nd in the row which is second from the top of this table) indicates that the day in question is considered to be only a middling good one for taking 'attractive' (or astringent) medicine.

<sup>3</sup> i.e., the third cross, which, in the line in question, is (like the first) a complete unbroken one, indicates that the day is suitable for going into the stew or vapour bath. ('I to thest we'+: 18.)



☞ Thaurus, frigidus et siccus terreusque ad collum spectat, ineptus sanguini fundendo.

☞ Gemini, calidi, humidi et aerei humeros et brachia manusque tutantur, inutiles venis aperiendis.

☞ Cancer, frigidus, humidus, aqueus, pectori stomacho pulmonique accomodatur, varius in minutione sanguinis.

☞ Leonem calidum et siccum igneumque esse perhibent dorsum ac latera respicientem, periculosum sanguini emittendo.

☞ Virginis signum frigidum siccum terreumque ad ventrem ac intestina spectat: indifferens vene secande.

☞ Libra calida, humida, aerea, vmbilicum lumbos interioraque ventris sortitur, vtilis sanguini minuendo.

☞ Scorpio frigidus, humidus, aquaticusque, pudenda gubernat, incertus ad venam incidendam.

☞ Sagittario calido, sicco et igneo coxe ascribantur, vtilis ad incisionem vene.

☞ Capricornus frigidus, siccus et terreus, habet genua, ad sanguinis minutionem haud inutilis existit.

☞ Aquarius, calidus, humidusque et aereus, ad crura refertur et indifferens vene incidende.

☞ Piscès quoque indifferentes sunt, frigidi, humidi et aquatici, pedesque in tutelam recipiunt.

*Distinctiones quattuor complexionum hominum.*

**I**cet corpus humanum componatur ex naturis quattuor elementorum, tamen vno predominante ceteris ipsum corpus a tali dominatur.

☞ Item a terra, tanquam ab inferiori, que est frigida et sicca, dicitur melancolicus, quia frigidus et siccus parum appetit et parum potest. Et habet has proprietates.

*Versus.* Est somnolentus, piger, sputamine plenus  
Hinc ebes sensus, pinguis facies, color albus.

☞ Sanguineus, calidus et humidus, sicut aer multa vult et multum potest, et habet has proprietates.

*Versus.* Largus, amans, hilaris, ridens, rubrique coloris  
Cantans, carnosus, satis audax atque benignus.

☞ Colericus, calidus et siccus affirmatur, sicut ignis, multa vult et parum potest: et habet has proprietates.

*Versus.* Hirsutus, fallax, irascens, prodigus, audax  
Astutus, gracilis, siccus, croceique coloris.

☞ *De fluxu ventris.*

*Versus.* Si fluxum pateris, si non caueas morieris  
Concubitum, potum, nimium cum frigore motum.

¶ *Officia .xii. mensium*<sup>1</sup>.

Pocula ianus amat, et februus algeo clamat.  
 Martius arua fodit: aprilis florida prodit.  
 Frons et flos nemorum Maio sunt fomes amorum.  
 Dat iunius fena; iulio resecatur auena.  
 Augustus spicas; september colligit uvas.  
 Seminat october: spoliat virgulta nouember.  
 Querit habere cibum porcum mactando december<sup>2</sup>.

¶ *Ieiunia .iiii. temporum.*

Post cineres, [P]neuma, post crucem, postque Luciam,  
 Mercurii, veneris, sabbato, ieiunia fient.

¶ *De nuptiis*<sup>3</sup>.

Prime nuptie cuiuslibet anni intrant die .xiiij. Januarij. Et durant vsque ad dominicam lxx<sup>me</sup>.

Secunde veniunt dominica in albis, que est *Quasimodo geniti*.

Tertie et vltime intrant dominica Trinitatis et durant vsque ad Aduentum Domini.

FORMULAE COMMUNES.

\* \* *The Marian editions of 1555 and 1556 contain next after the Kalendar the following forms and information for general use, beginning with the criss-cross line of the A, B, C.*

✠ A a b c d e f g h i k l m n o p q r [f] s t [v] u w x y z & con, [rum]  
 ā ē ī ō ū t' ī m̄. [ñ.] Est.<sup>4</sup> Amen. In nomine patris et filij et spiritus  
 sancti. Amen. [Oratio dominicalis.]

Pater noster qui es in celis sanctificetur nomen tuum. Adueniat regnum tuum. Fiat voluntas tua sicut in celo et in terra. Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie. Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Et ne nos inducas in temptationem. Sed libera nōs a malo. Amen.

Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum. Benedicta tu in mulieribus. Et benedictus fructus ventris tui Jesus [Christus]. Amen.

<sup>1-2</sup> These verses on the occupations of the several months of the year are printed (with slight variations) in the kalendar of the *York Missal* (i. xlii-xlv) of 1516, &c. They are depicted in xiiiith century roundels, with our Saviour blessing them, upon the ceiling of Salisbury Cathedral sanctuary or presbytery.

<sup>3</sup> 'Nuptie incipiunt,' and 'Finiunt Nuptie' are noted on Jan. 13th and 28th, and May 7th and 28th in some almanacks. For the rule 'Aspicie(n)s, Veterem' see *Manuale*, p. 25.

<sup>4</sup> 'est' occurs likewise (after...x, y, z, & con) in *The ABC* (al. 'The. BAC') both in *Latyn* and in *Englysshe* (1538). See also the last day of the Paschal Series (April 25th), noted in the margin of the *Hereford Breviary* (ii. p. xvi).

**C**redo in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, Creatorem celi et terre. Et in Jesum Christum Filium eius vnicum Dominum nostrum. Qui conceptus est de Spiritu sancto, natus ex Maria virgine. Passus sub Pontio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus. Discendit† ad inferna: terci[a] die resurrexit a mortuis, ascendit ad celos acsedit† dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis. Inde venturus est iudicare viuos et mortuos.

Credo in spiritum sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem et vitam eternam. Amen.

<sup>1</sup>[In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Marcus, Mattheus, Lucas, Joannes<sup>2</sup>. Amen.

Jesus Nazarenus crucifixus, Rex Judeorum, Fili Dei, miserere mei. Amen.]<sup>3</sup>

Per crucis hoc signum: fugiat procul omne malignum.

Et per idem signum: saluetur quodque benignum.

Per signum sancte crucis de inimicis nostris  
libera nos, Deus noster.

In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum:  
redemisti me, Domine, Deus veritatis. Amen.

[*To helpe a prest to synge*<sup>4</sup>.]

Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus: quoniam in seculum misericordia eius<sup>5</sup>.

**M**isereatur tui omnipotens Deus et dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua, liberet te Deus ab omni malo, conseruet et confirmet in omni opere bono et perducatur ad vitam eternam. Amen<sup>6</sup>.

**C**onfiteor Deo celi et beate Marie virgini et omnibus sanctis eius, et tibi, pater, quia ego miser peccator peccaui nimis corde, opere, omis-

<sup>1-3</sup> These four lines do not occur in 1556.

<sup>2</sup> 'The Book of Curtayse,' *Meals and Manners*, E. E. T. S., p. 303, li. 2, when referring to such forms of devotion as these, quotes the names of the Evangelists 'Marke, Mathew, Luke and Ion,' in this same unusual order. It is the reverse of the order of the *Sequentia Evangelia*, which the boy would see illustrated by miniatures or woodcuts representing SS. John, Luke, Matthew and Mark, illustrating 'In principio,' 'Missus est,' 'Cum natus,' and 'Recumbentibus.' Presumably in the Latin and the English line some idea of euphony or metre may have suggested the peculiar order of the names. The Salisbury notary, J. Machon, in 1468, signed the eight first gatherings of his Chapter Act Book 'ihc. marchus,' 'matheus,' 'lucas,' 'ioh'nes,' 'ioh'nes Amen,' 'Ad dñm,' 'cum'(?), 'tribularer':—placing Mark before Matthew. Although St John stands first in sundry MSS. of the Greek Gospels, and St Luke in the 'Aureum' Latin in the Escorial, it may be questionable whether St Mark ever led the way in the New Testament itself.

<sup>4</sup> There is no title supplied for this section (or for several of the others) in the Marian *Horae* of 1555-56, but 'the A B C both in latyn and Englyshe' in 1538 had given the true indication that these are the responses to be said by one serving at Mass, 'to helpe a prest to synge.' Dr M. R. James notes that MS. 537 (f. 147) at Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge, contains Latin verse directions for a server at Mass.

<sup>5</sup> *York Missal*, i. 124, 164.

<sup>6</sup> This is the server's prayer on behalf of the Priest, whose own 'Confiteor' is not given in this Layman's Prayer-book. Compare the form in *Missal*, i. 165.

sione, mea culpa. Ideo deprecor gloriosam Dei genitricem Mariam et omnes sanctos Dei, et te, pater, ora[re]<sup>1</sup> pro me.

Deus<sup>2</sup> tu conuersus viuificabis nos :

Et plebs tua letabitur in te.

Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam :

Et salutare tuum da nobis.

Sacerdotes tui induantur iustitiam :

Et sancti tui exultent.

Deus, Deus virtutum, conuerte nos :

Et ostende faciem tuam et salui erimus.

Domine exaudi orationem meam :

Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

Dominus vobiscum

Et cum spiritu tuo.

*Ad euangelia. 1.*

Adiutorium<sup>3</sup> nostrum in nomine Domini,

Qui fecit celum et terram.

Sit nomen Domini benedictum :

Ex hoc nunc et vsque in seculum.

Kyrie<sup>4</sup> eleyson.

Christe eleyson.

Kyrie eleyson.

Sequentia sancti Euangelij secundum Marcum<sup>5</sup>  
(Matheum, Lucam, Johannem).

Gloria tibi Domine<sup>6</sup>.

Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Dominus vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo.

Sursum corda.

Habemus ad Dominum.

Gratias agamus Domino Deo nostro.

Dignum et iustum est<sup>7</sup>.

Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum.

Et cum spiritu tuo<sup>8</sup>.

Ite missa est<sup>9</sup>.

Deo gratias.

Benedicamus Domino<sup>10</sup>.

Deo gratias.

Requiescant in pace. Amen<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ora.† 55. This *Confiteor* is said by the server in his turn. <sup>2</sup> *Missal*, i. 166.

<sup>3</sup> These next versicles are not specified here in the printed York Missals. But see *Sarum*, 580; *Hereford*, 115.

<sup>4</sup> Kyrie: cf. *Missal*, i. 124.

<sup>5</sup> St Mark is again named first as on the preceding page.

<sup>6</sup> 'Gloria tibi Domine': This 'unwritten' traditional response (as T. Simmons called it) does not appear in the *York Missal*, ed. 1872. See, however, *The Lay Folk's Mass Book*, p. 18, li. 182; p. 219.

<sup>7</sup> Sursum Corda: *Missal*, i. 180.

<sup>8</sup> *id.* i. 195.

<sup>9</sup> *id.* i. 180.

<sup>10</sup> *id.* i. 210.

<sup>11</sup> *id.* i. 211.

[*Ante prandium*

(*Grace to be sayd before dyner*<sup>1</sup>.)]

**B**enedicite.  
Dominus.

Oculi omnium in te sperant, Domine, et tu das escam illorum in tempore oportuno.

Aperis tu manum tuam: et imples omne animal benedictione.

Gloria Patri et Filio, et Spiritui sancto.

Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper: et in secula seculorum. Amen.

Kirie eleyson. Xp̄e eleyson. Kyrie eleyson.

Pater noster. Et ne nos. Sed libera nos.

Oremus.

Benedic, Domine, nos et dona tua que de tua largitate sumus sumpturi.  
Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Jube, domine, benedicere.

Mense celestis participes faciat nos rex eterne glorie. Amen.

[*Lectio.* (1 Io. iv. 16, &c.)]

Deus charitas est, [et] qui manet in charitate in Deo manet et Deus in eo: Sit Deus in nobis et nos maneamus in ipso. Amen.

[*Post prandium*

(*Grace after dyner.*)]

**D**eus pacis et benedictionis maneat semper vobiscum.  
Tu autem, Domine, miserere nostri.

Deo gratias.

Confiteantur tibi, Domine, omnia opera tua, et sancti tui benedicant tibi.

Gloria Patri. [Sicut erat.]

Agimus tibi gratias, omnipotens Deus, pro vniuersis beneficiis tuis.

Qui viuus et regnas Deus. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Laudate Dominum omnes gentes et Laudate eum omnes populi:

Quoniam confirmata est super nos misericordia eius: et veritas Domini manet in eternum.

Gloria.

Kyrieleyson. Christe eleyson. Kyrieleyson.

Pater noster. Et ne nos. Sed libera.

*Dispersit*<sup>2</sup>, dedit pauperibus.

Iustitia eius manet in seculum seculi.

<sup>1</sup> An interesting Memorandum on Latin Graces was contributed by H. Bradshaw to Dr Furnivall's *Babees Book, Meals and Manners* (E.E.T.S.) 1868, pp. 386-396. His paper (Camb. Antiq. Soc.), 1875, on the kindred subject, *On the ABC as an authorised School-book in the Sixteenth Century*, traced from c. 1538 to 1852, is reprinted among his *Collected Papers*, 1889, pp. 333-40.

<sup>2</sup> The *ABC* of 1538 glosses the verse *Dispersit* thus: "Chryste dyd dystribute goodes & gaue it to the poore. [R.] His iustice abydeth in the worlde of worldes." f. 5<sup>b</sup>.



Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore.

Semper laus eius in ore meo.

In Domino laudabitur anima mea.

Audiant mansueti et letentur.

Magnificate Dominum mecum.

Et exaltemus nomen eius in idipsum.

Sit nomen Domini benedictum.

Ex hoc nunc et vsque in seculum.

[Oremus.]

Retribu[er]e dignare, Domine Deus, omnibus nobis bona facientibus propter nomen sanctum tuum vitam eternam. Amen.

Benedicamus Domino. Deo gratias.

[*Ant.*] <sup>1</sup>Ave regina celorum,  
mater Regis angelorum.

O Maria, flos virginum,  
velut rosa vel lilium,

funde preces ad filium  
pro salute fidelium.

Post partum virgo inuiolata permansisti : Dei genitrix, intercede pro nobis.

Oremus.

Meritis et precibus sue pie matris : benedicat nos Filius Dei Patris. Amen.

[*Pro fidelibus defunctis : in fine gratiarum actionis.*]

*Post prandium.*

**D**E profundis clamaui ad te, Domine : Domine, exaudi vocem meam.  
*Fiant aures tue, &c.* [Ps. cxxix. *Brev.* 907<sup>2</sup>.]

Kyrie eleyson. Christe eleyson. Kyrie eleyson.

Pater noster.

V. Requiem eternam dona eis, Domine.

Et lux perpetua luceat eis.

A porta inferi :

Erue, Domine, animas eorum.

Credo videre bona Domini :

In terra viuentium.

Domine, exaudi orationem meam.

Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

<sup>1</sup> In place of the Antiphon 'Ave Regina' *The ABC bothe in Latyn and in Englysshe* of Henry VIIIth's time, c. 1538, has here

God graunt that the soules of all faythfull people departed out of this worlde, by his mercy may rest in eternal lyfe. Amen.

God preserue his chyrch vnyuersal,

And this chyrch of England speciall,

And the supreme heed therof oure kyng:

And graunt vs the blysse without endynge. Amen.

<sup>2</sup> The *Gloria* was apparently not said after *De profundis* here. Cf. *Manuale*, p. 34\*.

Oremus.

**F**idelium Deus omnium conditor et redemptor animabus famulorum famularumque tuarum remissionem cunctorum tribue peccatorum vt indulgentiam quam semper optauerunt piis supplicationibus consequantur. Qui viuus.

Requiescant in pace. Amen.

Fidelium anime per misericordiam Dei in pace requiescant. Amen.

[*Ad potum benedicendum*<sup>1</sup>.]

Benedicite. [*R.*] Dominus.

Potum et nos : benedicat agios.

In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Amen.

[*Ad cibum benedicendum*<sup>2</sup>.]

Benedicite. Dominus.

Apposita et apponenda : benedicat Dei dextera.

In nomine.

[*Post cibum*<sup>3</sup>.]

Pro tali conuiuio : benedicamus Domino.

Deo gratias.

Ave regina celorum &c.

(*Ante cenam*<sup>4</sup>.)

Benedicite. Dominus.

Cenam sanctificet : qui nobis omnia prebet.

In nomine.

(*Post cenam*<sup>5</sup>.)

Benedictus Deus in donis suis : Et sanctus in omnibus operibus suis.

Adiutorium [nostrum &c. Qui fuit &c.].

Ave regina. Post partum.

Meritis et precibus.

(*Ante prandium in ieiuniis*<sup>6</sup>.)

Benedicite. Dominus.

Edent pauperes et saturabuntur, et laudabunt Dominum qui requirunt eum : uiuent corda eorum in seculum seculi.

Gloria [Patri]. Sicut erat. Kyrieleyson &c.

Pater noster. Oremus.

Jube, Domine, benedicere.

[rex nos] Cibo spiritualis alimonie : reficiat nos rex eterne glorie. Amen.

(*Lectio. 2 Cor. xiii. 14.*)

Gratia Domini nostri Jesu Christi, caritas Dei et communicatio sancti Spiritus sit semper cum omnibus nobis [in Christo Jesu Domino]. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> This York blessing, or grace, *ad potum* does not appear in the *A, B, C*; nor in *Sar.*

<sup>2</sup> This is styled a 'short grace affore dyner' in MS. Balliol Coll. Oxon. 354.

<sup>3</sup> A 'shorte grace after dyner, & after soper, bothe': *ibid. Meals and Manners, E.E.T.S., p. 384.*

<sup>4</sup> 'Grace affore soper': *id. p. 384.*

<sup>5</sup> 'Grace after soper': *ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> 'On fisshe days': *id. p. 383.*

(*Post prandium in ieiuniis*<sup>1</sup>.)

Memoriam fecit mirabilium suorum misericors et miserator Deus.  
Escam dedit timentibus se.

Gloria Patri.

Agimus tibi gratias.

(*Lectio. Esai. lviii.*)

Frangere esurientibus panem tuum et egenos vagosque educ in domum  
tuam: cum videris nudum [co]operi eum, et carnem tuam ne despexeris,  
ait Dominus omnipotens.

*In die Pasche.*

*Ante prandium.* Benedicite. Dn's. Hec [est] dies. [*Brev. i. 388, 406.*] Gloria. Kyrie. Pater noster. Sed libera. Oremus. Benedic, Domine. Jube, domine. Mense celestis.

*Lectio.* Expurgate vetus fermentum, vt sitis noua conspersio, sicut estis azymi. Etenim pascha nostrum immolatus est Christus. Itaque epulemur in Domino.

*Post prandium.* Qui dat escam omni carni confitemini Deo celi.

Tu autem, Domine, miserere.

Laudate Dominum. Quoniam confirmata. Gloria. Sicut.

In resurrectione tua Christe:

Celum et terra letentur. Alleluia.

Oremus.

Spiritum [in] nobis Domine tue charitatis. [*Brev. i. 402.*]

Dominus vobiscum. Et cum spiritu tuo.

Benedicamus Domino. Alleluya. Alleluya.

Deo gratias. All'a. All'a.

[*Post Prandium: De profundis, ut supra, p. 29.*]

*Precatio de Trinitate.*

[*Ad Trinitatem*<sup>2</sup>.]

Auxiliatrix sis mihi Trinitas sancta. (Deus in nomine tuo. Crux triumphalis. Jesus Nazareus. In nomine. Per signum. Piissime et clementissime. *follow here in 1556 They are prayers to be said ere 'ye departe out of your chambre at your vprysynge,' and, when 'thou goest fyrst out of thy hous(e)'; see our text of 1536, pp. 34, 35, below.* See also, *Brev. i. 387-8.*)

Then follows: *Ad matutinas de beata Maria*: as on p. 37.

<sup>1</sup> 'Grace after dynere': *Meals and Manners*, pp. 383-4.

<sup>2</sup> 'A prayer to the Trinity': this is found in the *Fifteen Oes in English*, W. de Worde, 1494; *Invocatio S. Trinitatis mane, cum exsurrectus fueris, dicenda*: and in *Hours in Eng. and Latin*, 1536.

\*Lf. C. 4  
verso  
ed. 1536  
(resumed  
from  
p. 20).

\*SECUNDUM IOHANNEM.

¶ *Initium sancti euangelii secundum Johannem*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup>Gloria tibi Domine<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup>IN principio erat verbum, et verbum erat apud Deum, et Deus erat verbum. Hoc erat in principio apud Deum. Omnia per ipsum facta sunt: et sine ipso factum est nichil. Quod factum est in ipso vita erat, et vita erat lux hominum: et lux in tenebris lucet, et tenebre eam non comprehenderunt. Fuit homo missus a Deo: cui nomen erat Iohannes. Hic venit in testimonium, vt testimonium perhiberet de lumine, vt omnes crederent per illum. Non erat ille lux, sed vt testimonium perhiberet de lumine. Erat lux vera que illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum. In mundo erat, et mundus per ipsum factus est: et mundus eum non cognouit. In propria venit, et sui eum non receperunt. Quotquot autem receperunt eum: dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri: his qui credunt in nomine eius. Qui non ex sanguinibus, neque ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri: sed ex Deo nati sunt. Et verbum caro factum est: et habitauit in nobis. Et vidimus gloriam eius, gloriam quasi vnigeniti a patre: plenum gratie et veritatis.

Deo gratias.

†Lf. C. 5.

†<sup>3</sup>An. Te inuocamus, te adoramus, te laudamus, o beata Trinitas.

V. Sit nomen Domini benedictum.

R. Ex hoc nunc et vsque in seculum<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>4</sup>Oratio.

PROTECTOR in te sperantium Deus, sine quo nichil est validum, nichil sanctum; multiplica super nos misericordiam tuam: vt te rectore, te duce, sic transeamus per bona temporalia, vt non amittamus eterna. Per<sup>4</sup>.

¶ *Sequentia sancti euangelij secundum Lucam.*

Gloria tibi Domine<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>6</sup>IN illo tempore. Missus est Gabriel angelus a Deo in ciuitatem Galilee, cui nomen Nazareth, ad virginem desponsatam viro, cui nomen erat Ioseph de domo Dauid: et nomen virginis Maria. Et ingressus angelus ad eam dixit, Ave gratia plena, Dominus tecum: benedicta tu in mulieribus. Que cum audisset, turbata est in sermone eius: et cogitabat qualis esset ista salutatio. Et ait angelus ei, Ne timeas, Maria, inuenisti enim gratiam apud Dominum. Ecce concipies in vtero, et paries filium: et vocabis nomen eius Iesum. Hic erit

<sup>1-1</sup> Sarum *Horae* 1535-6 has a ✠ before and after this response.

<sup>2</sup> Small woodcut (1 ×  $\frac{3}{8}$  in.): St John with his eagle.

<sup>3-3</sup> omit Sar.

<sup>4-4</sup> omit Sar

<sup>5</sup> Sar. has a ✠ after this response.

<sup>6</sup> Small woodcut (1 ×  $\frac{5}{8}$  in.) of St Luke writing near a revolving desk. His symbol, the ox, at his feet.

magnus: et filius altissimi vocabitur. Et dabit illi Dominus Deus sedem David patris eius: et regnabit in domo Jacob in eternum, et regni eius non erit finis. Dixit autem Maria ad angelum, Quomodo ¶ fiet istud, quoniam virum non cognosco? Et respondens angelus dixit ei, Spiritus sanctus superueniet in te: et virtus altissimi obumbrabit tibi. Ideoque et quod nascetur ex te sanctum: vocabitur filius Dei. Et ecce Elizabeth, cognata tua: et ipsa concepit filium in senectute sua. Et hic mensis est sextus illi que vocatur sterilis: quia non erit impossibile apud Deum omne verbum. Dixit autem Maria, Ecce ancilla Domini: fiat michi secundum verbum tuum.

Deo gratias.

¶ *Sequentia sancti euangelij secundum Mattheum.*

Gloria tibi, Domine<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> CUM natus esset Iesus in Bethleem Iude in diebus Herodis regis: Ecce magi ab oriente venerunt Hierosolymam dicentes, Ubi est qui natus est rex Iudeorum? Vidimus enim stellam eius in oriente, et venimus adorare eum. Audiens autem Herodes rex turbatus est, et omnis Hierosolyma cum illo. Et congregans omnes principes sacerdotum et scribas populi, sciscitabatur ab eis, vbi Christus nasceretur. At illi dixerunt ei, In Bethleem Jude. Sic enim scriptum est per prophetam, Et tu, Bethleem, terra Juda: nequaquam minima es in principibus Juda. Ex te enim exiet dux qui regat populum meum Israel. \* Tunc Herodes clam vocatis magis diligenter didicit ab eis tempus stelle que apparuit eis, et mittens eos in Bethleem dixit, Ite et interrogate diligenter de puero: et cum inueneritis renunciate michi, vt et ego veniens adorem eum. Qui cum audissent regem: abierunt. Et ecce stella quam viderant in oriente antecedebat eos vsque dum veniens staret supra vbi erat puer. Videntes autem stellam<sup>3</sup> gauisi sunt gaudio magno valde: et intrantes domum inuenerunt puerum cum Maria matre eius. Et procidentem adorauerunt eum. Et apertis thesauris suis obtulerunt ei munera: aurum, thus, et myrram. Et responso accepto in somnis ne redirent ad Herodem: per aliam viam reuersi sunt in regionem suam.

Deo gratias.

¶ *Sequentia sancti euangelij secundum Marcum.*

Gloria tibi, Domine<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> IN illo tempore. Recumbentibus vndecim discipulis: apparuit illis Iesus, et exprobrauit incredulitatem illorum et duritiam cordis: quia his qui viderant eum resurrexisse non crediderant. Et dixit eis, Euntes in mundum vniuersum: predicate euangelium omni creature. Qui crediderit et baptizatus fuerit, saluus erit. Qui uero non crediderit, condemnabitur. Signa autem eos qui crediderint hec sequentur. In

<sup>1</sup> Sar. has a ✠ after this response.

<sup>2</sup> Small woodcut (1 × ½ in.) of St Matthew transcribing from an open book held by the (winged) Man.

<sup>3</sup> add 'magi': Sar. 35. Cf. Br. i. 177. <sup>4</sup> There is no woodcut for St Mark.



\* Lf. C. 6  
verso.

nomine meo demonia eijcient: linguis loquentur nouis: [s]erpentes tollent. Et si mortiferum quid \*biberint non eis nocebit. Super egros manus imponent: et bene habebunt. Et Dominus quidem Jesus postquam locutus est eis: assumptus est in celum, et sedet a dextris Dei. Illi autem profecti predicauerunt vbique, Domino cooperante et sermonem confirmante sequentibus signis.

Deo gratias.

Per euangelica dicta: deleantur nostra delicta<sup>1</sup>. Amen.

*Pro carnali dilectione.*

**D**OMINE, libera animam meam a carnali dilectione et a malorum recordatione, vt eorum qui vidi vel audiui a malis seculo non recorderer<sup>2</sup>, et alijs non dicam, Domine concede michi in hoc seculo sancto habitu viuere, ut a te imperpetuum non separare<sup>3</sup>, quatenus pro me et pro meis parentibus te [digne]<sup>4</sup> exorare valeam. Qui viuus et regnas Deus. Per omnia secula [seculorum Amen. Pater noster. Ave Maria]<sup>4</sup>.

*Pro tentatione carnis.*

**D**OMINE Jesu Christe, rex virginum, integritatis amator, munda et muni cor meum ab omnibus sagittis, [et]<sup>4</sup> insidijs inimici, et extinguens<sup>5</sup> in me omne incendium libidinis da veram humilitatem et tranquillitatem patientie pectori meo. Succende mentem meam tue charitatis stimulis: vt odio habens omnem viam iniquitatis possim cunctis diebus vite mee complacere tibi. [Amen.]

Pater noster. Ave Maria.

¶ *These prayers folowyng ought to be sayd or ye departe out of your chambre at your vprysynge.*

\* Lf. C. 7.

\* **A**VXILIATRIX sis michi Trinitas sancta. Deus, in nomine tuo Aleuabo manus meas. Crux triumphalis passionis Domini nostri Jesu Christi. Jesus Nazarenus rex Iudeorum, fili Dei, miserere mei. In nomine Patris et Filij et Spiritus sancti Amen.

Per signum sancte cru[✠]cis<sup>6</sup> de inimicis nostris libera nos, Deus<sup>7</sup> noster.

Pijssime Deus et clementissime pater: laudes et gratias ago tibi, Domine Jesu Christe, omnipotens eterne Deus, qui me indignum famulum tuum *N.* in hac nocte custodisti, protextisti, visitasti, sanum et incolumem ad principium huius diei me peruenire fecisti: et pro alijs beneficijs tuis que tua sola bonitate michi contulisti, deprecor clementiam tuam, misericors Deus, vt concedas michi diem venturum sic peragere in tuo sancto seruitio cum humilitate, discretione, deuotione et dilectione benigna, vt tibi seruitutem meam debitam et placabilem in omnibus

<sup>1</sup> "Whan the prest hath sayde the gospel, say thys. Per hec sancta euangelica," &c. "Amen. Pater noster. Ave Maria." *Ebor.* 1517, *Sar.* which then print the Passion according to St John. Egressus est Dominus.....posuerunt Jesu. Deo gratias. *V.* Qui passus est. *R.* Domine miserere nobis. Oremus. Deus, qui manus tuas, &c.

<sup>2</sup> recorder: 1517.

<sup>3</sup> separer: 17.

<sup>4</sup> add 1517.

<sup>5</sup> extingue: 17.

<sup>6</sup> The ✠ is printed in *Sar.*

<sup>7</sup> add, 'salutaris': *Sar.*, *Ebor.* 17.

operibus meis valeam persolvere, et fac me cum tua gratia viuere semper in omnibus diebus vite mee [:] tibi commendo corpus meum et animam meam. Per Christum<sup>1</sup>.

¶ *Whan thou goest fyrst out of thy hous, bless the, sayenge thus.*

CRUX triumphalis Domini nostri Jesu Christi, ecce viuifici crucis dominicum signum: fugite partes aduerse. In nomine [✠] Patris et Filij et Spiritus sancti. Amen.

*Oratio.*

† DEVS, qui tres magos orientales, Iaspar, Melchior, et Balthasar, + Lf. C. 7  
ad presepe<sup>2</sup> Domini, stella duce, conduxisti: conduc me ad loca *verso.*  
proposita sine totius aduersitatis impedimento; et, quo eos reduxisti<sup>3</sup>  
angelo nunciante, reduc me, te ipso auxiliante. Per Christum.

<sup>4</sup> Angele, qui meus es custos, pietate superna:  
Me tibi commissum serua, defende, gubernas<sup>5</sup>.

¶ *Whan thou entrest in to the chyrch, saye thus.*

DOMINE, in multitudine misericordie tue introibo in domum tuam, adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum, et confitebor nomini tuo.

Domine, deduc me in iustitia tua, propter inimicos meos: dirige in conspectu tuo viam meam<sup>6</sup>.

¶ *At thy takynge of holy water, saye thus.*

AQUA benedicta sit nobis salus et vita: presta michi, Domine, per hanc creaturam aspersionis aque sanitatem mentis, integritatem corporis, tutelam salutis, securitatem spei, corroboracionem fidei, nunc et in futuro. Amen<sup>6</sup>.

¶ *Whan<sup>7</sup> thou begynnest to praye, thus begynne, knelynge.*

DISCEDITE a me maligni, et scrutabor mandata Dei mei. Aufer a me, Domine, omnes iniquitates meas, vt merear pura mente introire in sancta sanctorum<sup>8</sup>. Aperi, Domine, os meum ad benedicendum nomen tuum, \*et munda<sup>9</sup> cor meum a vanis et nequissimis cogitationibus: vt dignus merear exaudiri ante conspectum diuine maiestatis tue. Dignus es, Domine Deus meus, accipere gloriam et honorem et virtutem, quia tu creasti omnia [et] propter nomen tuum [erant] et

\* Lf. C. 8

<sup>1</sup> Per Dominum. Sar.

<sup>2</sup> ad cunabula: see the longer form of this prayer printed below before the Prayers of St Bridget.

<sup>3</sup> qui eos conduxisti: Sar., Ebor. 17.

<sup>4</sup> 'Ad proprium angelum.' Sar.

<sup>5</sup> Sar. 23. 35 have here *Ad crucem. Crucem tuam. Whan the prest torneth after the lauatorye. Spiritus sancti gratia. A gode blessing whan ye goo forth on a message or iournay say thus. Oratio. Benedicat me imperialis.*

<sup>6</sup> Sar. adds *Pater. and Ave.* to these prayers.

<sup>7</sup> Want: Sar. 23.

<sup>8</sup> Veni, Domine, visitare me in pace: vt leter coram te corde perfecto. Sar. inserts this: as does also Ebor. 17.

<sup>9</sup> Emundaque: Sar., Ebor. 17.

creata sunt. Salus et honor Deo meo, qui sedes super thronum, et Agno. alleluia<sup>1</sup>.

¶ *Pro vera penitentia.*

OMNIPOTENS sempiternus Deus, precor te vt non permittas me perire, quia creatura tua [sum]. Concede michi spacium vite: et possibilitatem atque voluntatem bene viuendi, vt ante diem exitus mei per veram penitentiam merear placere tibi, Deo meo, viuo et vero, qui solus Deus et Dominus viuus et regnas in secula seculorum. Amen.

Pater noster.

Aue Maria<sup>2</sup>.

CONFITEOR tibi, Domine Jesu Christe, omnia peccata mea quecunque feci ab infantia mea vsque nunc, sciens aut ignorans.

Et quicquid in hac die, vel in hac nocte, dormiens aut vigilans, in verbis, in factis, in cogitationibus, per iacula diaboli, aut per desiderium carnis mee, aduersus tuam voluntatem, et ex toto corde meo veniam peto, exorans ne ira tua veniat super me. Sed gratia tua respiciat super me in eternum. Fiat benedictio Dei Patris et Filij et Spiritus sancti super † me. Assit michi intercessio sancte Dei genitricis Marie, Michaelis archangeli, sancti Johannis baptiste, sancti Johannis euangeliste, sancti Petri, sancti Pauli, sancti Georgij, sancti Christofori, sancti Martini, sancti Nicolai, sancte Katherine, sancte Barbare, sancte Margarete: et omnes sancti et electi Dei, orate pro me, vt merear vobiscum regnum Dei possidere.

Suscipe[re] dignare Domine Deus omnipotens, has orationes quas ego indignus peccator decantare desidero in honore sanctissimi nominis tui et beate Marie virginis genitricis Filij tui Domini nostri Jesu Christi et omnium sanctorum tuorum et sanctarum tuarum<sup>3</sup> pro me miserrimo<sup>4</sup> peccatore omnibus propinquis, amicis, parentibus, benefactoribus, et recommendatis<sup>5</sup> meis, pro peccatis innumerabilibus per nos commissis: ac pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum. Et<sup>6</sup> concede, quesumus, omnipotens Deus, vt nobis omnibus et<sup>7</sup> orationes proficiant ad salutem mentis et corporis, remediumque anime ad veram penitentiam faciendam in hac vita: et in fine ad gloriam et vitam consequendam. Amen<sup>8</sup>.

*Oratio.*

BENEDICAT me Deus Pater, qui cuncta creauit ex nichilo. Custodiat me Dei Filius, qui hominem perditum sanguine reparaui ex proprio.

<sup>1</sup> Sar. and 17 have here "Pater. Aue. O bone Jesu. Ascendat ad te. *Pro carnali dilectione.* Domine libera. *Pro tentatione carnis* Domine J. C. rex virginum."

<sup>2</sup> Sar. and 17 have here short prayers for the several canonical hours, *Oratio S. Augustini in nocte* Deus Pater noster qui ut oremus. *Or. S. Anselmi.*

<sup>3</sup> omit 'tuarum': Sar.

<sup>4</sup> misero: Sar.

<sup>5</sup> recommendatis: Sar.

<sup>6</sup> omit 'Et': Sar.

<sup>7</sup> ne: Sar.

<sup>8</sup> Here follow various intercessory and indulgenced prayers in Sar. *Whan thou receyuest the pax say, Da pacem, &c., and whan thou shalt receyue the sacrament, Domine, non sum.*

Illuminet me spi-ritussanctus : cuius me semper saluet pie consolati-  
onis infusio. \* *Sig. D.*

Liberet me ab omni malo sanctissima Trinitas<sup>1</sup>. Conseruet et confirmet me in omni opere bono : et ad vitam perducatur eternam. Amen.

*Oratio.*

**D**OMINE Jesu Christe, exaudi orationem meam, et imple desiderium meum in bonum ad laudem tui nominis. Amen.

**A**SCENDAT ab te, Domine Deus, oratio mea, et peto vt non reuertatur ad me vacua : sed sicut vis et scis miserere mei in omnibus anime et corporis necessitatibus. Amen.

Jesus Jesus Jesus esto michi Jesus. [Amen. Pater noster. Aue. *add. 17.*]

¶ *Sequuntur hore beate Marie virginis secundum vsum Eboraceñ.*

<sup>2</sup>AD MATUTINAS.

**D**OMINE, labia mea aperies.  
Et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam.  
Deus in adiutorium meum intende.  
Domine ad adiuuandum me festina.

Gloria Patri et Filio : et Spiritui sancto.  
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper : et in secula seculorum  
Amen.  
Alleluia.

*Invitatorium.* Aue Maria gratia plena Dominus tecum. Aue Maria gratia plena Dominus tecum.

<sup>1</sup> misprinted 'sanctissime Trinitatis.'

<sup>2</sup> Large woodcut ( $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$  in.) of the Annunciation, above it are the words—

Aue gratia plena, Dominus tecum ; benedicta tu in mulieribus,  
and below it the lines—

¶ The holy Goost dyde inspyre  
The frendes lyke tongues of fyre.

In *Sar.* the following Suffrages also occur before '*Ad Matutinas*':—

*Whan thou hast receyuest†. Vera perceptio. To gete grace for synnes. Exaudi quæsumus, Dñe, supplicum. Ayeu ewystll† (i.e. evyll) thoughtes. Ompls. mitissime Deus, respice. For the treude (? true) kynges. Deus regnorum, et Christiani. For thy frende lyuynge. Deus, qui iustificas. For wayefarynge men. Adesto, Dñe, supplicationibus. For frendes in sykenes or in necessite. Ompls. s. Deus, salus eterna. For thy fader and moder deed. Deus, qui nos patrem. For thy frende that is deed. Suscipe pijssime. For the lyuynge and deed. Ompls. s. Deus, qui viuorum. For our benefactours quyk and deed. Deprecamur te. V. Adoramus te. R. Clementer. Oremus. Dñe J. C. Fili Dei viui, pone passionem. Gloriosa passio. Ad B. Mariam post communionem, Or. O serenissima et inclita. Our holy fader Sixtus the .iiij. pope hath graunted to all them that devoutly say this prayer before the ymage of our lady the some of .xi. M. yers of perdon. Aue sanctissima Maria, mater Dei, regina celi &c. Pater. Aue Maria.*

*Psalms [xciiij.**in quo monet Deum hilariter et deuote laudare]<sup>1</sup>.*

**V**ENITE exultemus Domino, iubilemus Deo salutari nostro : pre-  
occupemus faciem eius in confessione : et in psalmis iubilemus ei.

Aue Maria gratia plena Dominus tecum.

Quoniam Deus magnus Dominus et rex magnus super omnes deos :  
quoniam non repellet Dominus plebem suam : quia in manu eius sunt  
omnes fines terre : et altitudines montium ipse conspicit.

Dominus tecum.

Quoniam ipsius est mare et ipse fecit illud ; et aridam fundauerunt  
manus eius : venite adoremus et procidamus ante Deum, ploremus coram  
Domino qui fecit nos : quia ipse est Dominus Deus noster : nos autem  
populus eius et oues pascue eius.

Aue Maria gratia plena Dominus tecum.

Hodie si vocem eius audieritis nolite obdurare corda vestra : sicut  
in exacerbatione secundum diem temptationis in deserto vbi tentauerunt  
me patres vestri : probauerunt et viderunt opera mea.

Dominus tecum.

Quadraginta annis proximus fui generationi huic et dixi semper hi  
errant corde ipsi vero non cognouerunt vias meas quibus iuraui in ira  
mea si introibunt in requiem meam.

Aue Maria gratia plena Dominus tecum.

Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto : sicut erat in principio et  
nunc et semper : et in secula seculorum amen.

Dominus tecum.

Aue Maria [gratia plena, Dominus tecum].

*Hymnus.*

**Q**UEM terra ponthus ethera,  
colunt adorant predicant :  
trinam regentem machinam,  
claustrum Marie baiulat.

Cui luna, sol et omnia,  
deseruiunt per tempora :  
perfusa celi gratia,  
gestant puelle viscera.

Beata mater munere,  
cuius supernus artifex :  
mundum pugillo continens,  
ventris sub archa clausus est.

Beata celi nuncio,  
fecunda sancto Spiritu :  
desideratus gentibus,  
cuius per aluum fusus est.

<sup>1</sup> These headings to the Psalms are found in *Ebor.* 1517, as well as in *Sarum* 1535-6.



Gloria tibi, Domine,  
qui natus es de virgine :  
cum Patre et sancto Spiritu,  
in sempiterna secula. Amen.

An. Benedicta tu.

*Psalmus [.viij. de exaltatione Christi, et ecclesie dilatatione].*

**D**OMINE Dominus noster : quam admirabile est nomen tuum in  
vniuersa terra.

Quoniam eleuata est :...*Brev. Ebor. i. 734.*

Gloria.

*Psalmus [.xviij. de incarnatione Domini].*

**C**ELI enarrant gloriam Dei : et opera manuum eius annunciat  
firmamentum.

Dies diei eructat verbum :...*Brev. i. 746.*

Gloria Patri.

*Psalmus [.xxiiij. de glorificatione et hominis reparatione].*

**D**OMINI est terra et plenitudo eius orbis terrarum : et vniuersi  
que habitant in eo.

Quia ipse super maria fundauit eum :...*Br. i. 754.*

Gloria.

Ant. Benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui.

V. Sancta Dei genitrix virgo semper Maria.

[R.] Intercede pro nobis ad Dominum Deum nostrum.

Pater noster [qui es in celis, Sanctificetur nomen tuum. Adueniat  
regnum tuum. Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in celo, et in terra. Panem  
nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie. Et dimitte nobis debita nostra,  
sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris].

Et ne nos [inducas in tentationem].

Sed libera [nos a malo. Amen].

Jube, domine, benedicere.

[*Benedictio.*]

Alma virgo virginum : intercedat pro nobis ad Dominum. Amen.

*Lectio prima.*

**S**ancta Maria virgo virginum,  
mater et filia regis regum omnium,  
tuum nobis impende solatium,  
vt celestis regni per te mereamur habere premium,  
et cum electis Dei regnare imperpetuum<sup>1</sup>.

Tu autem, Domine, miserere nostri.

Deo gratias.

R. Beata es virgo Maria que Dominum portasti creatorem mundi.  
Genuisti qui te fecit et in eternum permanes virgo.

<sup>1</sup> This line is omitted in *Brev. Sar. ii. 292*, but is found in the great *Sar. Legenda* 1518, f. 41.

V. Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum. Genuisti qui te fecit.  
Jube, domine, benedicere.

[*Benedictio.*]

Oret mente pia : pro nobis virgo Maria. Amen.

*Lectio secunda.*

Sancta Maria piarum pijssima,  
intercede pro nobis sanctarum sanctissima,  
vt per te, virgo gloriosa,  
sumat nostra<sup>1</sup> precamina,  
qui pro nobis ex te natus regnat super ethera,  
vt sua charitate nostra deleantur peccamina.

Tu autem, Domine [miserere nostri. Deo gratias.]

*Responsorium.* Sancta et immaculata virginitas, quibus te laudibus  
efferam nescio. Quia quem celi capere non poterant : tuo gremio con-  
tulisti.

V. Benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui.  
Quia quem.

Jube domine benedicere.

[*Benedictio.*]

Sancta Dei genitrix : sit nobis auxiliatrix. Amen.

*Lectio iii.*

Sancta Dei genitrix que digne meruisti concipere  
quem totus orbis nequiuat comprehendere ;  
tuo pio interuentu culpas nostras ablue :  
vt perennis sedem glorie  
per te redempti valeamus scandere,  
vbi manes cum Filio tuo sine tempore.

Tu autem.

R. Felix namque es, sacra virgo Maria, et omni laude dignissima.  
Quia ex te ortus est sol iusticie Christus Deus noster.

V. Ora pro populo, interueni pro clero, intercede pro deuoto femineo  
sexu ; sentiant omnes tuum leuamen, quicunque celebrant tuam com-  
memorationem. Quia ex te. Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto.  
Quia ex te ortus.

¶ *Canticum<sup>2</sup> Ambrosij et Augustini.*

Te Deum laudamus : te Dominum confitemur.

Te eternum patrem : omnis terra venerat.

Tibi omnes angeli : tibi celi et vniuerse potestates,

Tibi cherubin et seraphin : incessabili voce proclamant.

Sanctus.

Sanctus.

Sanctus Dominus Deus sabaoth.

<sup>1</sup> virgo nostra sumat : *Brev. Sar.* ii. 292.

<sup>2</sup> add ' sanctorum ' : 17.

*Pleni sunt celi et terra maiestatis glorie tue.*  
*Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus,*  
*Te prophetarum : laudabilis numerus,*  
*Te martyrum candidatus : laudat exercitus.*  
*Te per orbem terrarum : sancta confitetur ecclesia.*  
*Patrem immense maiestatis.*  
*Venerandum tuum verum : et vnicum Filium.*  
*Sanctum quoque paraclitum Spiritum.*  
*Tu rex glorie, Christe.*  
*Tu Patris sempiternus es Filius.*  
*Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem non horruisti virginis uterum.*  
*Tu deuicto mortis aculeo : aperuisti credentibus regna celorum.*  
*Tu ad dexteram Dei sedes : in gloria Patris.*  
*Judex crederis esse venturus.*  
*Te ergo quesumus famulis tuis subueni : quos precioso sanguine*  
*redemisti.*  
*Eterna fac cum sanctis tuis in gloria numerari.*  
*Saluum fac populum tuum, Domine : et benedic hereditati tue.*  
*Et rege eos : et extolle illos usque in eternum.*  
*Per singulos dies : benedicimus te.*  
*Et laudamus nomen tuum in seculum : et in seculum seculi.*  
*Dignare, Domine, die isto : sine peccato nos custodire.*  
*Miserere nostri, Domine : miserere nostri.*  
*Fiat misericordia tua, Domine, super nos : quemadmodum sperauimus*  
*in te.*  
*In te, Domine, speraui : non confundar in eternum.*  
*V. Ora pro nobis, sancta Dei genitrix.*  
*R. Vt digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.*

AD LAVDES<sup>1</sup>.

**D**EVS, in adiutorium meum intende.  
*Domine, ad adiuuandum me festina.*  
*Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto.*  
*Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper : et in secula seculorum. Amen.*  
*An. O admirabile.*

*Psalmus [xcj. in quo monet ad laudem Christi].*

**D**ominus regnauit ; decorem indutus est : indutus est Dominus fortitudinem, et precinxit se.  
*Etenim firmavit orbem terre : ... Br. i. 843.*  
*Gloria Patri.*  
*Sicut erat.*

<sup>1</sup> Large woodcut ( $2\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$  in.) of the Visitation, under which are the lines—

**C** How Mary the moder and vyrgin  
 Visyted Elizabeth wyf of Zachari :  
 Whiche sayd, blyssed be thou, cosyn,  
 And blyssed be the fruyt of thy body.

*Psalmus* [.xcix. in quo monet Deum alacriter laudare : et peccata nostra humiliter plangere].

**I**ubilate Deo omnis terra : servite Domino in letitia.  
Introite in conspectu eius :...*Br.* i. 851.  
Gloria.

*Psalmus* [.lxiij. in quo monet recte conversari in medio nationis prave].

**D**eus Deus meus : ad te de luce vigilo.  
Sitiuit in te anima mea :...*Br.* i. 801.

[*Psalmus* .lxxvi. in quo propheta nos monet ad laudem Dei :  
et bene operandum.]

**D**eus misereatur nostri et benedicat nobis : illuminet vultum suum  
super nos, et misereatur nostri.  
Ut cognoscamus in terra viam tuam :...*Br.* i. 804.  
Gloria Patri.

*Canticum trium puerorum.* [*Danielis* .iiij. cap. in quo omnia creata  
monentur ad laudandum Deum.]

**B**enedicite omnia opera Domini Domino : laudate et superexaltate  
Deum in secula.

Benedicite angeli Domini Domino : benedicite celi Domino.

Benedicite aque omnes que super celos sunt Domino : benedicite omnes  
virtutes Domini Domino.

Benedicite sol et luna Domino : benedicite stelle celi Domino.

Benedicite ymber et ros Domino : benedicite omnis spiritus Dei  
Domino.

Benedicite ignis et estus Domino : benedicite frigus et estas Domino.

Benedicite rores et pruina Domino : benedicite gelu et frigus Domino.

Benedicite glacies et niues Domino : benedicite noctes et dies Domino.

Benedicite lux et tenebre Domino : benedicite fulgura et nubes  
Domino.

Benedicat terra Dominum : laudet et superexaltet<sup>1</sup> eum in secula.

Benedicite montes et colles Domino : benedicite vniuersa germinantia  
in terra Domino.

Benedicite fontes Domino : benedicite maria et flumina Domino.

Benedicite cete et omnia que mouentur in aquis Domino : benedicite  
omnes volucres celi Domino.

Benedicite omnes bestie et pecora Domino : benedicite filij hominum  
Domino.

Benedicat Israel Dominum : laudet et superexaltet eum in secula.

Benedicite sacerdotes Domini Domino : benedicite serui Domini  
Domino.

Benedicite spiritus et anime iustorum Domino : benedicite sancti et  
humiles corde Domino.

<sup>1</sup> superexaltate †: 36.

Benedicite Anania, Azaria, Misael Domino : laudate et superexaltate eum in secula.

Benedicamus Patrem et Filium cum sancto Spiritu : laudemus et superexaltemus eum in secula.

Benedictus es, Domine, in firmamento celi : laudabilis et gloriosus et superexaltatus in secula. [Amen.]

[*Psalmus .cxlviij. in quo monet nos omnes ad laudandum Deum.*]

**L**audate Dominum de celis : laudate eum in excelsis.  
 Laudate eum omnes angeli eius :...*Br. i. 926.*

[*Psalmus .cxlix. in quo monet ad laudem Dei.*]

**C**antate Domino canticum nouum : laus eius in ecclesia sanctorum.  
 Letetur Israel in eo qui fecit eum :...*Br. i. 927.*

[*Psalmus .cl. in quo monet ad laudem Dei, propter beneficium glorificationis.*]

**L**audate Dominum in sanctis eius : laudate eum in firmamento virtutis eius.

Laudate eum in virtutibus eius :...*Br. i. 927.*

Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto.

Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper in secula seculorum. Amen.

*Ant.* O admirabile commercium ; creator generis humani, animatum corpus sumens de virgine nasci dignatus est<sup>1</sup> : et procedens homo sine semine largitus est nobis suam deitatem.

*Capitulum*<sup>2</sup>. [*Ecclus. xxiv. 11, 12.*]

**I**n omnibus requiem quesui et in hereditate Domini morabor : tunc precepit et dixit michi creator omnium, et qui creauit me requieuit in tabernaculo meo.

Deo gratias.

### *Hymnus.*

**O** gloriosa domina,  
 excelsa supra sydera :  
 qui te creauit prouide,  
 lactasti sacro vbere.

\*Quod Eua tristis abstulit,  
 tu reddis almo germine :  
 intrent vt astra flebiles,  
 celi fenestra facta es.

Tu regis alti ianua,  
 et porta lucis fulgida :  
 vitam datam per virginem,  
 gentes redempte plaudite.

\* *Sig. E.*

<sup>1</sup> es : *Sar. 35.*

<sup>2</sup> The *Sarum Cap. ad laudes B. M.* is 'Maria virgo semper letare, que meruisti Christum portare celi et terre conditorem : quia de tuo vtero protulisti mundi saluatorem.'



Gloria tibi, Domine,  
qui natus es de virgine :  
cum Patre et sancto Spiritu,  
in sempiterna secula. Amen.

*V.* Elegit eam Deus, et preelegit eam.

*R.* Et habitare eam facit in tabernaculo suo.

*Ant.* O gloriosa.

☩ *Canticum Zacharie prophete. Luce .j.*

**B**enedictus Dominus Deus Israel : quia visitavit et fecit redemptionem plebis sue.

*Et erexit cornu salutis nobis : . . . Br. i. 929.*

*Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto.*

*Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in secula seculorum amen.*

*An.* O gloriosa Dei genitrix virgo semper Maria : que Dominum omnium meruisti portare, et regem angelorum sola virgo lactare ; nostri, quesumus, pia memorare, et pro nobis semper Christum deprecare, vt tuis fulti patrocinijs ad celestia regna mereamur peruenire.

*V.*<sup>1</sup> Domine exaudi orationem meam.

[*R.*] Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

Oremus.

**C**oncede nos famulos tuos, quesumus, Domine Deus, perpetua mentis et corporis sanitate gaudere : et gloriosa beate Marie semper virginis intercessione a presenti liberari tristitia : et futura perfrui leticia. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Benedicamus Domino.

Deo gratias<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Sarum has for the Verse* "Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam. *R.* Et salutare tuum da nobis." fo. ix. is lost in 17.

<sup>2</sup> [Here in the *Sarum Horae* follow various *Suffragia Sanctorum* :

☩ *De sancto Spiritu.*

*Ant.* Veni sancte. *V.* Emitte. *R.* Et renovabis. *Or.* Deus qui corda.

☩ *De sanctissima* [al. 'sancta'] *Trinitate.*

*Ant.* Libera nos. *V.* Sit nomen. *R.* Ex hoc nunc. *Or.* Omnis s. Deus, qui dedisti nobis famulis.

☩ *De sancta cruce.*

*Ant.* Nos autem. *V.* Omnis terra. *R.* Psalmum dicat. *Or.* Deus qui sanctam crucem.

☩ *De S. Michael archangelo.*

*Ant.* Michael archangele. *V.* In conspectu. *R.* Adorabo. *Or.* Deus qui miro ordine. *Pater.* Aue.

☩ *De S. Johanne Baptista.*

*Ant.* Inter natos. *V.* Fuit homo. *R.* Cui nomen. *Or.* Perpetuis nos, Domine. *Pater noster.*

☩ *De SS. Petro et Paulo, apostolis.*

*Ant.* Petrus apostolus. *V.* In omnem. *R.* Et in fines. *Or.* Deus, cuius dextera. *Pater.* Aue.

- ¶ *De S. Paulo.*  
*Ant.* O gloriosum lumen. *V.* In omnem. *R.* Et in. *Or.* Deus, qui vniuersum mundum.
- ¶ *De S. Andrea apostolo.*  
*Ant.* Andreas, Christi. *V.* Dilexit Andream. *R.* In odorem. *Or.* Maiestatem tuam.
- ¶ *De S. Johanne euangelista.*  
*Ant.* Iste est Johannes. *V.* Valde honorandus. *R.* Qui supra. *Or.* Ecclesiam tuam, Domine, benignus.
- ¶ *De S. Laurentio martyre.*  
*Ant.* Leuita Laurentius. *V.* Dispersit. *R.* Justitia eius. *Or.* Da nobis, quesumus, omps. Deus, vitiorum.
- ¶ *De S. Panthaleone martyre.*  
*Ant.* Sancte Panthaleon martyr Christi militari. *V.* O sancte Panthaleon ora. *R.* Ut ab omnibus liberemur febribus. *Or.* Deus, qui humilium vota respicis. Pater. Aue. (*Non habet Sar. 23.*)
- ¶ *De S. Stephano prothomartire.*  
*Ant.* Stephanus vidit celos. *V.* Gloria et honore. *R.* Et constituisti. *Or.* Da nobis, quesumus, Domine, imitari.
- ¶ *De S. Thoma archiepiscopo Cantuariensi.*  
*Ant.* Tu per Thome sanguinem. *V.* Gloria et honore. *R.* Et constituisti. *Or.* Deus, pro cuius ecclesia.
- ¶ *De S. Erkenvaldo archiepiscopo.* ('*episcopo.*' 23.)  
*Ant.* O decus insigne. *V.* Ora. *R.* Ut digni. *Or.* Omps. s. Deus, apud quem est continua. Pater. Aue.
- ¶ *De S. Nicolao episcopo.*  
*Ant.* Beatus Nicolaus adhuc. *V.* Ora. *R.* Ut digni. *Or.* Deus qui beatum Nicolaum pontificem tuam innumeris.
- ¶ *De S. Armagilo confessore.*  
*Ant.* Sancte Dei preciose, aduocate gloriose. *V.* Ora pro nobis. *R.* Ut per te liberemur a morborum omnium grauamine. *Or.* Deus, qui beatum Armagilum confessorem tuum mirabilibus et innumeris decorasti. (*Non habet Sar. 23.*)
- ¶ *De S. Maria Magdalena.*  
*Ant.* Maria ergo unxit. *V.* Dimissa sunt. *R.* Quoniam dilexit. *Or.* Largire nobis, clementissime Pater: quod sicut.
- ¶ *De sancta Wilgeforti virgine et martyre.*  
*Ant.* Aue sancta famula Wilgefortis Christi. *V.* Diffusa est. *R.* Propterea. *Or.* Familiam tuam, quesumus, Domine, beate Wilgefortis *V.* et *M.* tue, regis filie, meritis. (*Non habet Sar. 23.*)
- ¶ *De S. Katherina virgine et martyre.*  
*Ant.* Virgo sancta Katherina, Grecie gemma. *V.* Ora. *R.* Vt digni. *Or.* Omps. s. Deus, qui gloriose martyr<sup>is</sup> tue Katherine corpus in monte Sinay.
- ¶ *De S. Margareta virgine et mar.*  
*Ant.* Erat autem Margareta. *V.* Specie tua. *R.* Intende. *Or.* Deus qui b. virginem Margaretam ad celos.
- ¶ *De sancta Sitha virgine.*  
*Ant.* Aue famula Sitha Jesu Christi. Que cum tota anima Deo placuisti. *V.* Ora. *R.* Ut mundemur ab omnibus malis in hac vita. *Or.* Deus, qui b. Sitham virginem famulam tuam in ipsius vita. (*Non habet Sar. 23.*)
- ¶ *De omnibus sanctis.*  
*Ant.* Omnes sancti et electi. *V.* Letamini. *R.* Et gloriamini. *Or.* Omnium sanctorum tuorum quesumus, Domine, intercessione placatus. Pater. Aue.
- ¶ *Pro pace.*  
*Ant.* Da pacem. *V.* Fiat pax. *R.* Et abundantia. *Or.* Deus, a quo sancta desideria. Pater. Aue. [*V.* Benedicamus Domino. *R.* Deo gratias': *Sar. 23.*]

## AD MATUTINAS DE CRUCE.

<sup>1</sup>DOMINE labia mea aperies.

*Et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam.*

*Deus in adiutorium meum intende.*

*Domine ad adiuvandum me festina.*

*Gloria Patri et Filio : et Spiritui sancto.*

*Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper : et in secula seculorum amen.*

*Hymnus.*

**P**atris sapientia  
veritas diuina  
Deus homo captus est  
hora matutina.

**A** notis discipulis  
cito derelictus,

**A.** Judeis venditus,  
traditus, afflictus.

*V. Adoramus te Christe et benedicimus tibi.*

*R. Quia per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mundum.*

*Oremus.*

**D**omine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei viui, pone passionem, crucem et mortem tuam inter iudicium tuum et animas nostras nunc et in hora mortis nostre : et largiri digneris viuis misericordiam et gratiam, <sup>2</sup>defunctis veniam et requiem, ecclesie regnaque† pacem et veram concordiam, et nobis peccatoribus vitam et gloriam sempiternam. Qui viuis<sup>3</sup> et regnas Deus. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

*Gloriosa passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi<sup>4</sup> perducat nos ad gaudia paradisi. Amen.*

¶ *Pro cunctis fidelibus defunctis.*

*Collecta.* Animabus, quesumus, Domine, omnium famulorum famularumque tuarum (*al.* omnium fidelium defunctorum) oratio proficiat supplicantium : vt eas et a peccatis omnibus exuas, et tue redemptionis facias esse participes.

*Fidelium Deus omnium conditor, &c. Amen.*

*Requiescant in pace. Amen. Pater noster. Ave Maria. (This last Suffrage occurs not here, but later, in the Officium Mortuorum, in Sar. 23.)]*

<sup>1</sup> This page and others, i.e. sig. E.2—E.4, are wanting in the unique copy of 1536 at Lincoln. There was presumably a woodcut of the Crucifixion here, as there is in ed. 1517. The Horæ of 1517–18 at St John's College, Cambridge, has in like manner lost sig. B. j.

<sup>2-3</sup> *Sar. reads:* 'defunctis requiem et veniam, ecclesie tue sancte pacem et concordiam... Qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto viuis.'

<sup>4</sup> *Gloriosa compassio Domini n. J. Christi: eruat nos a dolore tristi: et &c., Sar.*

{“HORE COMPASSIONIS BEATE MARIE, *Ad Matutinas*” may have been intended to follow here (after the ‘*Matutine de Cruce*’) before the Prime of the Blessed Virgin: and the like devotion in the case of other Hours, Prime, Terce, &c. The original Table of Contents of 1536 would, presumably, lead the purchaser of the little York Prymer to expect as much. Such an office of the Compassion will be found printed (from the Salisbury *Horae*) in our foot-notes<sup>1</sup>.)

AD PRIMAM BEATE MARIE<sup>2</sup>.

**D**EVS, in adiutorium meum intende.

*Domine, ad adiuuandum me festina.*

*Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui sancto.*

*Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper: et in secula seculorum amen.*

*Hymnus.*

**V**eni, creator Spiritus,  
mentes tuorum visita:  
imple superna gratia,  
que tu creasti pectora.

<sup>1</sup> As the *Tabula* at the end of the book specifies “the houres of the passyon of our lorde, and the compassyon of our lady,” as among its contents, I insert this from the Sarum *Horae*. I think that the York book may have inadvertently omitted this short office here (where the book is imperfect) as has certainly been done after the hour of Prime.

## HORE COMPASSIONIS BEATE MARIE.

**M**ATRIS cor virgineum  
trina\* totum truiuit  
Quando suum Filium  
nocte captum sciuit.  
Ductum ad pretorium  
mane cum audiuit,  
Frequens dans suspirium  
sepe singultiuuit.

*V. Te laudamus et rogamus,  
Mater Jesu Christi*

*R. Ut intendas et defendas  
nos a morte tristi.*

*Oratio.*

**D**omine sancte Jesu, Fili dulcis virginis Marie, qui pro nobis mortem in cruce tolerasti: fac nobiscum misericordiam tuam: et da nobis, et cunctis compassionem tue sanctissime matris deuote recolentibus, eius amore vitam in presenti gratiosam: et tua pietate gloriam: in futuro sempiternam. In qua viuis et regnas Deus. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

*Trenosa compassio dulcissime Dei matris, perducatur nos ad gaudia summi celi Patris. Amen.*

<sup>2</sup> Probably a woodcut of the Nativity is here missing in the Lincoln copy, with the verses:

☞ How Jesu Chryst ryght poorely borne was  
In an old crybbe, layd all in pouerte:  
At Bedleem, by an ox and an asse,  
Where Mary blyssed his natyuite.

Cf. Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* 1882, iii. p. ix.

The edition of 1517 has a woodcut of the Nativity but (as is its wont) no verses to accompany it.

\* trina: perhaps for *threna* (i.e. *threnus*). Cf. ‘*Trenosa*’ = *lamentabilis*, 17 lines lower down.

Memento, salutis auctor,  
quod nostri quondam corporis,  
ex illibata virgine  
nascendo, formam sumpseris.

Maria, plena gratie,  
mater misericordie :  
tu nos ab hoste protege,  
et hora mortis suscipe.

Gloria tibi, Domine, &c., *ut supra*, p. 44.

*An.* Quando natus<sup>1</sup>.

*Psalmus.* [i.]

**B**eatus vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum : et in via peccatorum  
non stetit : et in cathedra pestilentie non sedit.  
Sed in lege Domini voluntas eius :...*Br.* i. 728.  
Gloria Patri et Filio : et Spiritui sancto.  
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper : et in secula seculorum  
amen.

*Psalmus.* [ij.]

**Q**uare fremuerunt gentes : et populi meditati sunt inania ?  
Astiterunt reges terre :...*Br.* i. 729.  
Gloria Patri et Filio : et Spiritui sancto.  
Sicut erat, &c.

*Psalmus.* [v.]

**V**erba mea auribus percipe, Domine : intellige clamorem meum.  
Intende voci orationis mee :...*Br.* i. 730.  
Gloria Patri.

*Psalmus* [cxvj. in quo monet omnes gentes ad laudem Dei].

**L**audate Dominum omnes gentes : laudate eum omnes populi.  
Quoniam confirmata est super nos misericordia eius : et veritas  
Domini manet in eternum. (Cf. *Br.* i. 878.)  
Gloria. Sicut.

*An.* <sup>2</sup>Quando natus es ineffabiliter ex virgine Maria : tunc implete  
sunt scripture, sicut pluvia in vellus descendisti : vt saluum faceres  
genus humanum : te laudamus, Deus noster.

*Capitulum.* [*Ecclus.* xxiv. 11, 12.]

**I**n omnibus requiem quesivi, et hereditate Domini morabor : tunc  
Iprecepit et dixit michi creator omnium et qui creavit me requieuit  
in tabernaculo meo. Deo gratias.

<sup>1</sup> The Sarum *Ant.* is "O admirabile commercium." And instead of Ps. i. ii. v. that Use has "Deus, in nomine" (liij.), "Laudate Dominum omnes gentes" (cxvj.) and "Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus" (cxvij.) for its Psalms at Prime of the B. Virgin.

<sup>2</sup> The Sarum *Antiphon* at prime is—"O admirabile commercium. Creator generis humani : animatum corpus sumens de virgine nasci dignatus est : et procedens homo sine semine largitus est nobis suam deitatem."



*R.* Ave Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum. Ave Maria.

*V.* Benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui. Dominus tecum.

Gloria Patri. Ave Maria.

*V.* Sancta Dei genitrix, virgo semper Maria.

*R.* Intercede pro nobis ad Dominum Deum nostrum.

Domine exaudi orationem meam.

Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

*Oratio.*

Concede nos famulos tuos, quesumus, Domine Deus, perpetua mentis et corporis salute gaudere: et gloriosa beate Marie semper virginis intercessione a presenti liberari tristitia et futura perfrui leticia. Per.

[AD PRIMAM] DE CRUCE.

**H**ora prima ductus est  
Jesus ad Pylatum.

Falsis testimonijs  
multum accusatum,

In collo percutiunt  
manibus ligatum.

Vultum Dei conspuunt,  
lumen celi gratum.

*V.* Adoramus te, Christe, et benedicimus tibi.

*R.* Quia per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mundum.

Oremus.

Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei viui, pone passionem, crucem et mortem (*etc., ut supra*, p. 46).

Benedicamus Domino.

Deo gratias.

Gloriosa passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi perducatur nos ad gaudia paradisi. Amen<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Here the Sarum *Horae* add:

HORE COMPASSIONIS BEATE MARIE.

Hora prima domina  
videns flagellatum

Suum vnigenitum,  
turpiter tractatum.

Colaphis et alapis,  
spuito deformatum,  
Manus torquens grauit  
ruit in ploratum.

*V.* Te laudamus et rogamus (*etc., sicut supra ad matutinas de compassione B. Marie*). Then *Pro fidelibus defunctis*. Or. Deus, qui hom. de limo. (p. 52, n. 1.)

AD TERTIAM<sup>1</sup>.

**D**EVS in adiutorium meum intende.  
 Domine, ad adiuuandum me festina.  
 Gloria Patri et Filio: et Spiritui sancto.  
 Sicut erat.

*Hymnus.*

Veni, creator. } (*ut supra, ad Primam,*  
 Memento, salutis. } pp. 47, 48).  
 Maria, plena gratie,  
 mater misericordie:  
 Tu nos ab hoste protege,  
 et hora mortis suscipe.  
 Gloria tibi, Domine,  
 qui natus es de virgine:  
 cum Patre et sancto Spiritu,  
 in sempiterna secula. Amen.

An. Rubum<sup>2</sup>.

*Psalmus* [.cxix. in quo iustus petit liberari de malis huius seculi].

**A**d Dominum cum tribularer clamaui: et exaudiuit me.  
 Domine, libera animam meam a labijs iniquis: et a lingua dolosa.  
 Quid detur tibi, aut quid apponatur tibi:...Br. i. 901.  
 Gloria.

*Psalmus* [.cxx. in quo monet fideles recurrere ad sanctos].

**L**euauit oculos meos in montes: vnde veniet auxilium michi.  
 Auxilium meum a Domino:...Br. i. 902.  
 Gloria Patri et Filio: et Spiritui sancto.

*Psalmus* [.cxxi. in quo monet ad desiderium celestis patrie].

**L**etatus sum in his que dicta sunt michi: in domum Domini ibimus.  
 Stantes erant pedes nostri:...Br. i. 903.  
 Gloria Patri et Filio: et Spiritui sancto.  
 Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper: et in secula seculorum amen.  
*Antiphona.* Rubum quem viderat Moyses incombustum conseruatam  
 agnouimus tuam laudabilem virginitatem: Dei genitrix intercede pro  
 nobis.

<sup>1</sup> Woodcut ( $2\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$  in.) of the Shepherds at Bethlehem. Below it are the lines:

¶ How an aungel appered in the morne  
 Syngyng Gloria in excelsis Deo.  
 Sayng, the veray sone of God is borne,  
 Ye shepheherdes to Bedleem ye may go.

<sup>2</sup> The Sarum *Ant. ad Tertiam B. Mariæ* is "Quando natus."

*Capitulum.* [*Ecclus. xxiv. 14.*]

**A**b initio et ante secula creata sum, et vsque ad futurum seculum non desinam: et in habitatione sancta coram ipso ministraui.

Deo gratias.

*R.* Sancta Dei genitrix, virgo semper Maria. Sancta Dei genitrix, virgo semper Maria.

*V.* Intercede pro nobis ad Dominum Deum nostrum. Virgo semper Maria.

Gloria Patri et Filio: et Spiritui sancto. Sancta Dei genitrix virgo semper Maria.

*V.* Post partum virgo inuiolata permansisti.

*R.* Dei genitrix, intercede pro nobis.

Domine exaudi orationem meam.

Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

Oremus.

**C**oncede nos famulos tuos, quesumus, Domine Deus, perpetua mentis et corporis sanitate gaudere: et gloriosa beate Marie semper virginis intercessionem a presenti liberari tristitia, et futura perfrui leticia. Per.

## [AD TERTIAM] DE CRUCE.

**C**RUCIFIGE, clamitant  
hora tertiarum:  
Illus induitur  
veste purpurarum.

<sup>1</sup>Caput eius pungitur  
corona spinarum:  
Crucem portat humeris  
ad locum penarum.

*Versus.* Adoramus te Christe et benedicimus tibi.

*R.* Quia per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mundum.

Oremus.

**D**omine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei viui: pone passionem, crucem et mortem (&c., *sicut ad ceteras horas*, p. 46).

Gloriosa passio. Amen. [Pater noster. Ave Maria.]

<sup>1</sup> Here a leaf or two is wanting in the Lincoln copy, 1536. I supply the remainder of the hymn, &c. from the York book of 1517, which is complete, as is the Ushaw copy, but the St John's College copy has also lost the page (fo. xvj. being torn out).

\* *Sig. F.*<sup>1</sup>\*AD SEXTAM<sup>2</sup>.**D**EVS, in adiutorium meum intende.

Domine, ad adiuvandum me festina.

Gloria Patri et Filio: et Spiritui sancto.

Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper: et in secula seculorum amen.

*Hymnus.***V**eni, creator Spiritus,  
mentes tuorum visita:imple superna gratia,  
que tu creasti pectora.

Memento, salutis auctor

Maria, plena gratie.

Gloria tibi, Domine.

} &c. (*ut supra*, p. 48).<sup>1</sup> The Sarum *Horae* insert here the following:

## AD TERTIAM DE COMPASSIONE BEATE MARIE.

**V**IDENS virgo virginum  
hora tertiarum

Caput punctum Filij

corona spinarum,

Crucem ferens† scapulis

† fert: *Sar.* 23.

ad loca penarum,

Heu dolore sternitur,

luto platearum.

*Versus.* Te laudamus et rogamus, mater Jesu Christi.*R.* Ut intendas et defendas nos a morte tristi.

Oremus.

**D**omine sancte Jesu, Fili dulcis virginis Marie, qui pro nobis mortem in cruce tollerasti, &c. (*ut supra*, p. 47).

Trenosa compassio. Pater noster. Aue.

The Sarum *Horae* of 1528 has also the following:

## PRO FIDELIBUS DEFUNCTIS ORATIO.

**D**EUS, qui hominem de limo terre (vt angelorum impleres ruinas) ad imaginem et similitudinem tuam formasti: et vt ipsum lapsum ad locum perditum reuocaris: in cruce passus fuisti, miserere, quesumus, animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum: iustitiam tuam per misericordiam mitigando, ne opera manuum tuarum propter carnis peccata damnentur: que fragilia et ad peccandum prona creasti. Qui vivis et regnas Deus. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

Fidelium anime defunctorum per misericordiam Dei requiescant in pace. Amen.

Anime eorum in bonis demorentur.

Et semen eorum hereditabit terram.

<sup>2</sup> Most probably the lost leaf in the Lincoln copy contained in this place a woodcut of the Visit of the Magi with an English quatrain.¶ How thre kynges of straunge nacyons  
Of Christis byrth hauyng intellygence  
Unto Bedleem brought theyr oblacyons  
Of golde myrrhe and frankyncence.The York *Horae* of 1517 has the woodcut without verses.

*Antiphona. Germinauit.**Psalmus [cxcij. in quo monet ascensum virtutum].***A**d te leuau i oculos meos : qui habitas in celis.*Ecce sicut oculi seruorum :...Br. i. 903.**Gloria Patri et Filio : et Spiritui sancto.**Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper : et in secula seculorum amen.**[Psalmus .cxcij. in quo monet bonum nostrum Deo esse ascribendum.]***N**isi quia Dominus erat in nobis, dicat nunc Israel : nisi quia Dominus erat in nobis.*Cum exurgerent homines in nos :...Br. i. 904.**Gloria Patri et Filio : et Spiritui sancto.**Sicut erat.**Psalmus [cxcviii. in quo monet confidere in solo Deo].***Q**ui confidunt in Domino sicut mons Sion : non commouebitur in æternum, qui habitat in Hierusalem.*Montes in circuitu eius...Br. i. 904.**Gloria Patri et Filio : et Spiritui sancto.**Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper : et cetera.**Ant. Germinauit radix Jesse, orta est stella ex Jacob, virgo peperit<sup>1</sup> saluatorem : te laudamus, Deus noster<sup>2</sup>.**Capitulum. [Ecclus. xxiv. 15.]***E**t sic in Syon firmata sum, et in ciuitate sanctificata similiter requieui : et in Hierusalem potestas mea.*Deo gratias.**R. Post partum virgo inuiolata permansisti. Post partum virgo inuiolata permansisti.**V. Dei genitrix, intercede pro nobis. Inuiolata permansisti.**Gloria Patri et Filio : et Spiritui sancto. Post partum virgo inuiolata permansisti.**V. Speciosa facta es et suavis.**[R.] In delicijs tuis, sancta Dei genitrix.**Domine exaudi orationem meam.**Et clamor meus ad te veniat.**Oremus.***C**oncede nos famulos tuos, quesumus, Domine Deus, perpetua mentis et corporis (*&c., ut supra, p. 51*).<sup>1</sup> veperit† : 36.<sup>2</sup> The Sarum *Horae* has “*Ant. Rubum quem viderat*” at Sext.



## DE CRUCE.

**H**ORA sexta Jesus est  
 cruci conclauatus.  
 Et est cum latronibus  
 pendens deputatus.  
 Pre tormentis sitiens  
 felle saturatus.  
 Agnus crimen diluit  
 sic ludificatus.

*Versus.* Adoramus te Christe, et benedicimus tibi.

*R.* Quia per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mundum.

[Oremus.]

*Oratio.*

**D**omine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei viui, pone passionem, crucem et mortem  
 tuam inter iudicium (&c., *ut supra*, p. 46). Deo gratias.  
 Gloriosa passio. &c. Amen<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup>AD NONAM.

**D**EVS, in adiutorium meum intende.  
*Domine, ad adiuvandum me festina.*  
 Gloria Patri. Sicut erat.

*Hymnus.*

**V**eni, creator Spiritus,  
 mentes tuorum visita:  
 imple superna gratia,  
 que tu creasti pectora.  
*Memento, salutis &c.*  
*Maria, plena gratie* } (*ut supra*, p. 48).  
*Gloria tibi, Domine, &c.*

<sup>1</sup> The Sarum *Horae* add here the devotion which the York *tabula* of contents would lead us to expect:

¶ DE COMPASSIONE BEATISSIME VIRGINIS MARIE.

**H**ORA sexta respicit  
 mater suum natum,  
 Obstitutum vulneribus,  
 in cruce leuatum.  
 Inter fures positum  
 felleque potatum.  
 Illa secum centies  
 reddit eiulatum.

*Versus.* Te laudamus et rogamus,  
 Mater Jesu Christi,

*R.* Ut intendas et defendas  
 nos a morte tristi.

Oremus. *Or.* Domine sancte Jesu, Fili dulcis virginis Marie, &c. Trenosa  
 compassio, &c. (*ut supra*, p. 47).

<sup>2</sup> Woodcut ( $2\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$  in.) of the Presentation, mis-called the Circumcision in the following lines. Symeon in bishop's gear. A clerk holds a large candle, by a round font-like table. Below the woodcut are the lines:

¶ Symeon ad† Crystes cyrcuncision  
 These wordes vnto te† Jewes dyde tell:  
 Myn eyen bebelde† your redemption,  
 The lygth† and glory of Ysrael.

*Antiphona.* Ecce Maria<sup>1</sup>.

*Psalmus* [.cxcv. *in quo monet ad gaudium pro liberatione*].

**I**n conuertendo Dominus captiuitatem Sion: facti sumus sicut consolati. Tunc repletum est gaudio os nostrum:....*Br.* i. 905.

*Gloria.* [Sicut.]

*Psalmus* [.cxcvi. *in quo monet ne aliquis bonum quod in se cernit propriis viribus ascribat*].

**N**isi Dominus edificauerit domum: in vanum laborauerunt qui edificant eam.

Nisi Dominus custodierit ciuitatem:....*Br.* i. 906.

*Gloria Patri et Filio: et Spiritui sancto.*

Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper: et in secula seculorum amen.

*Psalmus* [.cxcvij. *in quo monet caste timere Deum*].

**B**eati omnes qui timent Dominum: qui ambulant in viis eius. Labores manuum tuarum quia manducabis:....*Br.* i. 906.

*Gloria Patri et Filio: et Spiritui sancto.*

Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper: et in secula seculorum amen.

*Ant.* Ecce Maria genuit nobis saluatorem, quem Johannes videns exclamauit dicens: ecce Agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi. alleluya<sup>1</sup>.

*Capitulum.* [*Ecclus. xxiv. 16.*]

**E**t radicaui in populo honorificato: et in partes Dei mei hereditas illius: et in plenitudine sanctorum detentio mea.

Deo gratias.

*R.* Speciosa facta es et suavis.

Speciosa facta es et suavis.

*V.* In delicijs tuis, sancta Dei genitrix. Et suavis.

*Gloria Patri et Filio: et Spiritui sancto.* Speciosa facta es et suavis.

<sup>2</sup>*V.* Elegit eam Deus et preelegit eam.

[*R.*] Et habitare eam facit in tabernaculo suo.

Domine exaudi orationem meam.

Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

Oremus.

*Oratio.*

**C**oncede nos famulos tuos, quesumus, Domine Deus, perpetua mentis et corporis (*&c., ut supra, p. 49.*)

Benedicamus Domino. Deo gratias.

<sup>1</sup> The Sarum *Horae* has at Nones of the B. Virgin: *Ant.* Germinauit radix Jesse, orta est stella ex Jacob: virgo peperit saluatorem: te laudamus Deus noster.

<sup>2</sup> The Sarum *Horae* has here: *V.* Dignare me laudare te, virgo sacrata. *R.* Da michi virtutem contra hostes tuos. Domine exaudi, &c.

## [AD NONAM] DE CRUCE.

**H**ORA nona Dominus  
 Jesus expirauit,  
 Hely clamans, animam<sup>1</sup>  
 Patri commendauit.  
 Latus eius lancea  
 miles perforauit.  
 Terra tunc contremuit,  
 et sol obscurauit.

*V.* Adoramus te, Christe, et benedicimus tibi.

*R.* Quia per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mundum.

[Oremus.]

*Oratio.*

**D**omine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei viui, pone passionem, crucem et mortem tuam (&c., *ut supra*, p. 46).  
 Gloriosa passio. &c.<sup>2</sup>

AD VESPERAS<sup>3</sup>.

**D**EVS, in adiutorium meum intende.  
 Domine, ad adiuuandum me festina.  
 Gloria Patri, et Filio.  
 Sicut erat.

*Ant.* Post partum.

*Psalmus* [.cxxxj. in quo monet ad desiderium celestis patrie].

**L**etatus sum in his que dicta sunt michi : in domum Domini ibimus.  
 Stantes erant, &c. *Br.* i. 903 (*ut supra ad Tertiam* p. 50). Gloria Patri. Sicut erat.

<sup>1</sup> spiritum : *Sar.*

<sup>2</sup> The *Sarum Horae* adds here the following :

¶ [AD NONAM] DE COMPASSIONE BEATE MARIE.

**H**ORA nona flebilis  
 cernit expirantem,  
 Patri dando spiritum  
 Eloy clamantem,  
 Militem cum lancea  
 latus perforantem.  
 Cadit tunc in extasim,  
 dolor sternit stantem.

*V.* Te laudamus. *R.* Ut intendas. Oremus. Domine sancte Jesu, Fili dulcis, &c. *Trenosa compassio dulcissime Dei matris, &c. (ut supra, p. 47).* Pater. Ave.

<sup>3</sup> Woodcut ( $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$  in.). The Flight into Egypt. Underneath it is the quatrain :

How Mary and Joseph, with Jesu were fayne  
 In to Egypt, for socour to fle,  
 Whan the innocentes for his sake were slayne  
 By commysyon of Herodes cruelte.

York 1517 has a woodcut of the Child Jesus standing among the seated Doctors.

*Psalmus [cxxij. in quo monet ad ascensum virtutum].*

**A**d te leuaui oculos meos : qui habitas in celis.  
Ecce sicut oculi, &c. Br. i. 903 (ut supra, ad Sextam, p. 53).  
Gloria Patri et Filio.

*Psalmus [cxxiij. in quo monet omne bonum nostrum Deo  
esse ascribendum].*

**N**isi quia Dominus erat in nobis, dicat nunc Israel : nisi quia Dominus  
erat in nobis.

Cum exurgerent, &c. ut supra, cum Gloria Patri. Br. i. 904.

*Psalmus [cxxiiij. in quo monet confidere in solo Deo].*

**Q**ui confidunt, &c. cum Gloria Patri, et Sicut erat. Br. i. 904.

*Psalmus [cxxv. in quo monet ad gaudium pro liberatione].*

**I**n conuertendo, &c., cum Gloria Patri, et Sicut erat. Br. i. 905 (ut  
supra ad Nonam, p. 55).

*Ant.* Post partum virgo inuiolata permansisti : Dei genitrix, intercede  
pro nobis.

#### *Capitulum.*

**B**eata es virgo Maria que Dominum portasti creatorem mundi : genu-  
isti qui te fecit, et in eternum permanes virgo. Deo gratias.

#### *Hymnus.*

**A**ue Maris stella,  
Dei mater alma  
atque semper virgo,  
felix celi porta.  
Sumens illud Ave,  
Gabrielis ore :  
funda nos in pace,  
mutans nomen Eue.  
Solue vincla reis,  
profer lumen cecis :  
mala nostra pelle,  
bona cuncta posce.  
Monstra te esse matrem ;  
sumat per te preces,  
qui pro nobis natus,  
tulit esse tuus.  
Virgo singularis,  
inter omnes mitis :  
nos culpis solutos,  
mites fac et castos.

Vitam presta puram,  
iter para tutum :  
vt videntes Jesum,  
semper collemur.

Sit laus Deo Patri,  
summo Christo decus :  
Spiritus sancto,  
trinus honor vnus. Amen.

<sup>1</sup>V. Sancta Dei genitrix, virgo semper Maria.

R. Intercede pro nobis ad Dominum Deum nostrum.

*Antiphona. Sancta Maria.*

¶ *Canticum beate Marie. Luce primo [capitulo. in quo  
humilitatem, super ceteras extollit virtutes].*

**M**agnificat anima mea Dominum.  
*Et exultauit spiritus meus: ... Br. i. 929.*

*Gloria Patri et Filio : et Spiritui sancto.*

*Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper : et in secula seculorum amen.*

*Ant. Sancta Maria, succurre miseris, iuua pusillanimes, refoue debiles :  
ora pro populo, interueni pro clero, intercede pro deuoto femineo sexu.*

*Domine, exaudi orationem meam.*

*Et clamor meus ad te veniat.*

*Oremus.*

**C**oncede nos famulos tuos, quesumus, Domine Deus, perpetua mentis  
(*dec., ut supra, p. 44*).

¶ **AD VESPERAS DE CRUCE.**

**D**E CRUCE deponitur  
hora vespertina.  
Fortitudo latuit  
in mente diuina.

Talem mortem subiit  
vite medicina :  
Heu corona glorie  
iacuit supina.

V. Adoramus te, Christe, et benedicimus tibi.

R. Quia per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mundum. [*Oremus.*]

<sup>1</sup> The Sarum *Horae* has here: V. Diffusa est. R. Propterea benedixit.



*Oratio.*

**D**omine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei viui, pone passionem, crucem et mortem  
(&c., *ut supra*, p. 46).  
Gloriosa passio &c.<sup>1</sup>

\*AD COMPLETORIUM<sup>2</sup>.

**C**ONVERTE nos, Deus, salutaris noster.  
*Et auerte iram tuam a nobis.*  
*Deus, in adiutorium meum intende.*  
*Domine, ad adiuuandum me festina.*  
Gloria.

*Antiphona. Cum iocunditate.*

*Psalmus [.xij. in quo notat desiderium sanctorum patrum in  
aduentum Christi].*

**V**squequo, Domine, obliuisceris me in finem?  
vsquequo auertis faciem tuam a me?  
*Quandiu ponam consilia in anima mea:...Br. i. 738.*  
Gloria Patri. [*Sicut erat.*]

*Psalmus [.xlij. in quo monemur, ne in pressuris deficiamus].*

**I**udica me, Deus, et discerne causam meam de gente non sancta: ab  
homine iniquo et doloso erue me.  
*Quoniam tu es Deus fortitudo mea;...<sup>3</sup>Br. i. 780.*  
Gloria Patri. *Sicut erat.*

<sup>1</sup> The Sarum *Horae* adds:

¶ DE COMPASSIONE BEATE MARIE.

**D**E cruce depositum  
hora vespertarum.  
Mater cum aspiceret  
eius Natum carum.  
Osculans amplectitur  
pignus celi carum.  
Corpus eius madidat  
stillis lachrymarum.

(With the usual *V. Te laudamus, &c. Domine sancte Jesu, &c. Trenosa compassio, &c.*, as on p. 47, &c.) Then ¶ PRO FIDELIBUS DEFUNCTIS as after Terce of B. V. M., &c.

<sup>2</sup> Woodcut ( $2\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$  in.). Coronation of the Virgin, who—'her hair, in comely sort, flowing upon her shoulders'—kneels before the Majesty. Two angels in attendance. Below are the lines—

*How Mary assumed was aboue the sk[il]es.  
By her sone as souerayne lady  
Recepued† there amough† the Ierarchyes  
And crowned her the quene of glory.*

Ed. 17 has a woodcut of the Assumption with the Apostles carrying our Lady's bier, and the punishment of the Sadducee who tried to arrest it.

<sup>3</sup> Here the Lincoln copy has the pages bound in confused order (after 91) thus 94, 93, 92, 97, 96, 95, 98.

\* *Sig.*[G.] begins here (1536), but the letter G is not actually printed, as the woodcut and verses fill the page.

*Psalmus* [.cxxxviii. in quo monet ad tolerantiam exemplo omnium sanctorum].

**S**epe expugnauerunt me a iuuentute mea : dicat nunc Israel.  
 Sepe expugnauerunt me a iuuentute mea :...*Br.* i. 906.  
 Gloria Patri. Sicut erat.

*Psalmus* [.cxxx. in quo monet ad humilitatem].

**D**omine, non est exaltatum cor meum : neque elati sunt oculi mei.  
 Neque ambulaui in magnis :...*Br.* i. 907.  
 Gloria Patri et Filio : et Spiritui sancto.

Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper : et in secula seculorum amen.

*Ant.* Cum iocunditate memoriam beate Marie celebremus : vt ipsa pro nobis intercedat ad Dominum Jesum Christum.

*Capitulum.* [*Ecclus.* xxiv. 20.]

**S**icut cynamomum et balsamum aromatizans odorem dedi : quasi myrrha  
 Selecta dedi suauitatem odoris.  
 Deo gratias.

*Hymnus.*

**V**irgo singularis,  
 inter omnes mitis :  
 nos culpis solutos,  
 mites fac et castos.  
 Vitam presta puram,  
 iter para tutum :  
 vt videntes Jesum,  
 semper collemur.  
 Sit laus Deo Patri,  
 summo Christo decus :  
 Spiritui sancto,  
 trinus honor vnus. Amen.

<sup>1</sup>*Versus.* Ecce ancilla Domini.

*R.* Fiat michi secundum verbum tuum.

[*Antiphona.* Ecce completa sunt<sup>2</sup>.]

**¶** *Canticum Symeonis.* [*Luce.* ij. capitulo ; vbi asserit Christum in hunc venisse mundum.]

**N**unc dimittis seruum tuum Domine : secundum verbum tuum in pace.

Quia viderunt oculi mei :...*Br.* i. 931.

Gloria Patri.

<sup>1</sup> The canticle is introduced by *V.* Elegit eam et preelegit eam. *R.* Et habitare eam facit in tabernaculo suo. Mrs Willett's York MS. has "*Hymnus* Virgo singularis, ut *supra.* Aue Maris stella."

<sup>2</sup> In the Sarum *Horae* the antiphon to *Nunc Dimittis* is "Glorificamus te, Dei genitrix : quia ex te natus est Christus : salua omnes qui te glorificant."

*Ant.* Ecce completa sunt omnia que dicta sunt per angelum de virgine Maria<sup>1</sup>.

Domine, exaudi [orationem meam].

[Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

Oremus.]

*Oratio.*

**G**ratiam tuam quesumus, Domine, mentibus nostris infunde, vt qui angelo nunciante Christi Filij tui incarnationem cognouimus: per passionem eius et crucem ad resurrectionis gloriam perducamur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Benedicamus Domino.

Deo gratias.

## ❧ AD COMPLETORIUM DE CRUCE.

**H**ORA completorij  
datur sepulture.  
Corpus Christi nobile,  
Spes vite future,  
Conditur aromate,  
complentur scripture.  
Jugi sit memoria  
mors hec michi cure.

*Recommendatio.*

**H**as horas canonicas  
cum deuotione,  
Christe, tibi recolo  
pia ratione.  
Ut qui pro me passus es  
amoris ardore  
Sis michi solatium  
in mortis agone.

*Versus.* Adoramus te, Christe, et benedicimus tibi.

*Responsorium.* Quia per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mundum.

Oremus.

**D**omine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei viui, pone passionem, crucem et mortem tuam inter iudicium tuum et animas nostras nunc et in hora mortis nostre: et largiri digneris viuis misericordiam et gratiam, defunctis veniam et requiem, ecclesie regnaque † pacem<sup>2</sup> et veram concordiam, et nobis peccatoribus vitam et gloriam sempiternam. Qui [cum Patre et

<sup>1</sup> In the Sarum *Horae* the antiphon to *Nunc Dimittis* is "Glorificamus te, Dei genitrix: quia ex te natus est Christus: salua omnes qui te glorificant."

<sup>2</sup> ecclesie tue sancte pacem: *Sar.*; regnoque pacem: *Ebor.* 17.

sancto Spiritu] viuis et regnas Deus. Per [omnia secula seculorum. Amen.]

Gloriosa passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi perducatur nos ad gaudia paradisi. Amen<sup>1</sup>.

### DE BEATA MARIA.

☩ *Salutatio deuota ad beatissimam virginem Mariam.*

<sup>2</sup> **S**ALVE regina, mater<sup>3</sup> misericordie,  
vita dulcedo et spes nostra salue.  
Ad te clamamus exules filij Eue.  
Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes  
in hac lachrymarum valle.  
Eya ergo, aduocata nostra,  
illos tuos misericordes oculos  
ad nos conuerte.  
Et Jesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui,  
Nobis post hoc exilium ostende.  
O clemens, O pia, O dulcis, O mitis<sup>4</sup> Maria.

V. Virgo mater ecclesie, eterne porta glorie: esto nobis refugium,  
apud Patrem et Filium.

O clemens.

V. Virgo clemens, virgo pia, virgo dulcis, O Maria, exaudi preces  
omnium ad te pie<sup>5</sup> clamantium.

O pia.

<sup>1</sup> *Sar.* adds "Pater noster. Ave Maria. Credo in Deum." And

☩ DE COMPASSIONE BEATISSIME VIRGINIS MARIE.

**H**ORA completorij  
mater properatur:  
Ut lugeret Filium,  
vbi tumulatur.  
Nec inde vult recedere,  
sed ibi moratur,  
Usque dum ad Filium  
tandem exaltatur.  
Ergo mater, miseris  
miserere mitis:  
Pro quibus compateris  
presso botro vitis.  
Nos a peste funeris  
salua fuga Ditis:  
Et nos iunge ceteris  
vita redimitis.  
V. Te laudamus et rogamus,  
mater Jesu Christi:  
R. Ut intendas et defendas  
nos a morte tristi. Oremus.

*Or.* Domine sancte Jesu, &c. Trenosa, &c. (*ut supra*, p. 47).

<sup>2</sup> A small woodcut ( $1\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$  in.) of "Our Lady of Pity" (i.e. a *pietà*), with the Body of Christ upon her knees, after the Deposition from the Cross.

<sup>3</sup> omit 'mater': 1517.

<sup>4</sup> omit. 'o mitis': 17, 55.

<sup>5</sup> pia: 55.

V. Funde preces tuo Nato  
 crucifixo vulnerato,  
 et pro nobis flagellato,  
 spinis puncto, felle potato.  
 O dulcis.

V. Gloriosa Dei mater,  
 cujus Natus extat Pater :  
 ora pro nobis omnibus,  
 qui tui<sup>1</sup> memoriam agimus.  
 O Maria.

V. Dele culpas miserorum,  
 terge sordes peccatorum :  
 dona nobis beatorum  
 vitam tuis precibus.

O mitis.

V. Vt nos soluat a peccatis  
 pro amore sue matris,  
 et ad regnum claritatis  
 perducatur nos Rex pietatis.

O clemens. O pia.

O dulcis. O mitis Maria, salve.

V. Aue Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum.

R. Benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui.

[Oremus.]

*Oratio.*

**O**mnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui gloriose virginis et matris Marie corpus et animam, vt dignum Filij tui habitaculum effici mereretur: Spiritu sancto cooperante mirabiliter preparasti: da vt cuius commemoratione letamur, eius pia intercessione ab instantibus malis, et a morte perpetua atque subitanea<sup>2</sup> liberemur. Per <sup>3</sup>Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

<sup>4</sup>Benedicamus Domino.

Deo gratias<sup>5</sup>.

¶ *De gaudijs beate Marie virginis corporalibus*<sup>6</sup>.

**G**AVDE virgo, Mater Christi,  
 que per aurem concepisti  
 Gabriele nuncio. [Aue Maria gratia plena.]

Gaude quia Deo plena,  
 peperisti sine pena  
 cum pudoris lilio. [Aue Maria.]

<sup>1</sup> tuam: 17, 55.

<sup>2</sup> omit 'atque subitanea': 1517.

<sup>3</sup> Per eundem: 17.

<sup>4-5</sup> Pater noster. Aue. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Sar. and 1517 add "Aue" to each verse and say:—'The rygh treuerent father in God Laurence bysshop of Assauen [in 1382-91] hath graunted .xl. days of pardon to all them that deuoutly say thys prayer in the worship of our blessyd lady, beyng penitente and trewly confessed of all theyr synnes.' Ebor. 1517, Sarum 1535-6, fo. 39.



Gaude quia tui nati,  
 quem dolebas mortem pati,  
 fulget resurrectio. [Aue.]

Gaude Christo ascendente,  
 quod in celum, te vidente,  
 motu fertur proprio. [Aue.]

Gaude quod post ipsum scandis,  
 et est honor tibi grandis  
 in celi palatio. [Aue Maria.]

Vbi fructus ventris tui  
 per te detur nobis frui:  
 in perenni gaudio.

V. Benedicta es a Filio tuo, domina.

R. Quia per te fructum vite communicauimus.

Oremus.

Deus, qui beatissimam virginem Mariam in conceptu et partu [dilecti Filii tui]<sup>1</sup> virginitate seruata duplici gaudio letificasti: quique eius gaudia Filio tuo<sup>2</sup> resurgente et ad celos ascendente multiplicasti: presta, quesumus, vt ad illud ineffabile gaudium, quo assumpta tecum gaudet in celis, eius meritis et intercessione valeamus peruenire. Per [eundem]<sup>3</sup> Christum Dominum nostrum.

*Alia gaudia beatissime Marie virginis spiritualia.*

<sup>4</sup>GAUDE flore virginali,  
 honoreque speciali  
 transcendens splendiferum  
 Angelorum principatum,  
 et sanctorum decoratum  
 dignitate numerum<sup>5</sup>.

Gaude, sponsa chara Dei,  
 nam vt clara lux diei:  
 solis datur lumine:  
 Sic tu facis orbem vere  
 tue pacis resplendere  
 lucis plenitudine.

[Aue Maria, gratia plena, Dominus.]

<sup>1</sup> add 'dilecti Filii tui': 17.

<sup>2</sup> eodem Filio tuo a mortuis: 17.

<sup>3</sup> add 'eundem': 17.

<sup>4</sup> According to *Sar.* this is "A deuote prayer of the .vij. spyrytuall yoies [joys] of oure blessed lady, showed vnto saynt Thomas of Cantorbery" († 1170). The title given in Daniel's *Hymni* (i. 346) is 'De Septem gaudiis celestibus Marie.' The York (and Coutances) MS. *Horae* at Steeple Ashton Vicarage, Wilts, contains 'Gaude virgo' and 'Gaude flore,' ff. 114 b-117 a.

<sup>5</sup> munerum: 17; munerum: Aue Maria. *Sar.* 23.

Gaude, splendens vas virtutum,  
 cuius parens<sup>1</sup> est ad nutum :  
 tota celi curia.  
 Te benignam et felicem,  
 Jesu dignam genitricem :  
 venerans<sup>2</sup> in gloria. [Aue Maria.]

Gaude, nexu charitatis,  
 et amplexu dignitatis :  
 iuncta sis<sup>3</sup> altissimo.  
 Ut ad votum consequaris,  
 quicquid, virgo, postularis :  
 a Jesu dulcissimo. [Aue Maria.]

Gaude, mater miserorum,  
 quia Pater seculorum :  
 dabit te colentibus  
 Congruentem hic mercedem  
 et felicem poli sedem :  
 regnis in celestibus. [Aue Maria.]

Gaude virgo, mater Christi,  
 tu, que<sup>4</sup> sola meruisti,  
 o virgo pijssima,  
 Esse tante dignitatis,  
 vt sis sancte Trinitatis :  
 sessione proxima. [Aue Maria.]

Gaude virgo, mater pura,  
 certa manens et segura :  
 quod hec septem gaudia  
 Non cessabunt nec decrescent<sup>5</sup>,  
 sed durabunt et florescent :  
 per eterna secula. Amen.

*Ant.* O sponsa sancta et humilis virgo pulcherrima.  
 Maria, mater Dei, virgo electa,  
 esto michi via recta,  
 ad eterna gaudia.  
 vbi pax<sup>6</sup> est et gloria,  
 et nos<sup>7</sup> semper aure pia :  
 dulcis exaudi Maria.

*V.* Exaltata es, sancta Dei genitrix.  
*R.* Super choros angelorum ad celestia regna.

<sup>1</sup> pendens : 17, 55; *Sar.* 23.

<sup>3</sup> sit : 55; sic : 17, *Sar.* 23.

<sup>4</sup> tu que : 17, 55; *Sar.* 23; que tu† : 36.

<sup>6</sup> par : *Sar.* 23; pax : 17. (36 is indistinct.)

<sup>2</sup> veneratur : 17; *Sar.* 23.

<sup>5</sup> decrescent† : 55.

<sup>7</sup> me : 17.

[Oremus.]

*Oratio.*

**D**ulcissime Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei viui, qui beatissimam gloriosissimam <sup>1</sup> virginem Mariam matrem tuam pijssimam perpetuis et felicibus gaudijs tecum in celo coronatam letificasti: concede propitius vt eius meritis et precibus continuis salutem et prosperitatem mentis et corporis cum gaudio, alacritate et abundantia omnium bonorum spiritualium et corporalium consequamur in hoc seculo: pie iuste et benigne viuamus, et post transitum huius seculi ad gaudia eterna feliciter peruenire valeamus. Per Christum Dominum nostrum † Amen<sup>2</sup>.

¶ *Oratio deuota de beata Maria*<sup>3</sup>.

**O**BSECRO te, domina sancta Maria mater Dei pietate plenissima, summi regis filia, mater gloriosissima, mater orphanorum, consolatio desolatorum, via errantium, salus et spes in te sperantium. Virgo ante partum, virgo in partu: et virgo post partum. Fons misericordie, fons salutis et gratie, fons pietatis et leticie: fons consolationis et indulgentie. Per illam sanctam inestimabilem leticiam qua exultauit spiritus tuus in illa hora quando tibi per Gabrielem archangelum annunciatus et conceptus fuit Filius Dei. Et per illud diuinum mysterium quod tunc operatus est Spiritus sanctus in te. Et per illam sanctam inestimabilem pietatem, gratiam, misericordiam, amorem et humilitatem per quas Filius Dei descendit accipere humanam carnem in venerabilissimo vtero tuo: et in quibus te respexit quando te commendauit sancto Johanni apostolo et euangeliste. Et quando te exaltauit super choros angelorum. Et per illam sanctam inestimabilem humilitatem in qua tu respondisti archangelo Gabrieli, Ecce ancilla Domini: fiat michi secundum verbum tuum. Et per illa sanctissima quindecim gaudia que habuisti de Filio tuo Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Et per illam sanctam maximam compassionem et acerbissimum cordis dolorem quem habuisti quando Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum ante crucem nudatum, et in ipsa leuatum vidisti pendentem, crucifixum, vulneratum, sitientem, fel apponi, clamantem audisti et morientem vidisti. Et per quinque vulnera Filij tui. Et per contractionem viscerum tuorum pre nimio dolore vulnerum eius<sup>4</sup>. Et per dolorem quem habuisti quando vidisti eum

<sup>1</sup> add 'humilem benignam et pulcherrimam': 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Ebor.* 1517, and *Sar.* have the more correct conclusion "Qui viuisti, &c. in vnitate. Per omnia." They add Pater noster, Ave, and Ps. cxxix. (De profundis) with versicles and Absolution of souls (Absolue quesumus. Et anime omnium. Pater. Ave. Credo.) ¶ God haue mercy on all crysten soules. Amen. ¶ God saue the kynge and brynge vs to the blysse that neuer shall haue endynge. Amen. And in this order "O intemerata," "S. Maria Dei genitrix," and "Obsecro."

<sup>3</sup> *Sar.* has the following indulgence prefixed to the prayer *Obsecro*: "¶ To all them that be in the state of grace that daily say deuoutly this prayer before our blessyd lady of pitie, she wyll shewe them her blessyd vysage and warne them the daye et the owre of dethe, et in theyr laste ende the aungelles of God shall yelde theyr sowles to heuen, & he shall obteyne .v. hundred yerres & soo many lentes of pardon graunted by .v. holy fathers popes of Rome."

<sup>4</sup> A small woodcut ( $1\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{1}{8}$  in.) representing the B. Virgin and Child in glory, as if from *Apoc.* xii. 1.

<sup>5</sup> suorum: 17.

vulnerari. Et per fontes sanguinis sui, et per omnem passionem eius, et per omnem dolorem cordis tui, et per fontes lachrymarum tuarum: vt cum omnibus sanctis et electis Dei venias et festines in auxilium et consilium meum, in omnibus orationibus et requestis meis: et in omnibus illis rebus in quibus ego sum factururus, locuturus aut cogitaturus, omnibus diebus ac noctibus, horis atque momentis vite mee. Et michi famulo tuo impetres a dilecto Filio tuo complementum vite cum omni misericordia et consolatione, omni consilio et<sup>1</sup> omni auxilio, omni adiutorio et omni benedictione et sanctificatione, omni saluatione, pace et prosperitate, omni gaudio et alacritate, etiam abundantiam omnium bonorum spiritualium et corporalium et gratiam sancti Spiritus, qui me bene per omnia disponat, animam meam custodiat, corpus meum regat, sensum erigat, cursum dirigat, mores componat, actus probet, vota et desideria mea perficiat, cogitationes sanctas instituat, preterita mala indulgeat, presentia emendet: et futura moderetur. Vitam honestam et honorabilem michi tribuat, et victoria[m] contra omnes aduersitates huius mundi: beatam pacem spiritualem et corporalem michi tribuat: bonam spem, charitatem, fidem, castitatem, humilitatem et patientiam. Et quinque sensus corporis mei regat et protegat. Septem opera misericordie complere me faciat. Duodecim articulos fidei et decem<sup>2</sup> precepta legis firmiter tenere et credere<sup>3</sup> me faciat. A septem peccatis mortalibus me liberet et defendat vsque in finem vite mee. Et in nouissimis diebus meis ostende mihi faciem tuam et annuncies michi diem et horam obitus mei: et hanc orationem supplicem suscipias et exaudias, et vitam eternam michi tribuas. Audi et exaudi me dulcissima virgo Maria, mater Dei et misericordie. Amen.

❧ *Oratio deuota de beata virgine Maria, et de sancto Johanne euangelista*<sup>4</sup>.

**O** INTEMERATA et in eternum benedicta singularis et incomparabilis virgo Dei genitrix Maria, gratissimum Dei templum, Spiritus sancti sacrarium, ianua regni celorum, per quam post Deum totus viuitt orbis terrarum. Inclina mater misericordie aures tuas pietatis indignis supplicationibus meis: et esto michi miserrimo peccatori pia in omnibus auxiliatrix.

O Johannes beatissime Christi familiaris et amice, qui ab eodem Domino nostro Jesu Christo virgo es electus, et inter ceteros magis dilectus, atque mysterijs celestibus vltra omnes imbutus: apostolus eius et euangelista factus es preclarissimus. Te etiam inuoco cum Maria matre eiusdem Saluatoris nostri, vt michi opem tuam cum ipsa conferre digneris.

<sup>1</sup> omit 'et': 1517.

<sup>2</sup> decemque: 17.

<sup>3</sup> credere et tenere: 17.

<sup>4</sup> The prayer *O intemerata* has in *Sar.* 35 a larger woodcut [ $1\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$  in.] of the figure mentioned just above as prefixed to *Obsecro* in *Ebor.* The prayer *O intemerata* is said in *Sar.* (fo. 40) to be ❧ *A deuoute prayer to our blessyd lady et saynt Johñ leuangelyste, the wyche saint Edmunde archebysshop of Cantorberi [1233-40] made et sayd dayly, of the wyche be many miracles shewed.* So also in *Ebor.* 1517.

O due gemme celestes, Maria et Johannes. O duo luminaria diuinitus ante Deum lucentia, vestris radijs scelerum meorum effugate nubila. Vos enim estis illi duo in quibus Deus Pater per Filium suum spiritaliter edificauit sibi domum. Et in quibus ipse Filius Dei, ob sincerissime virginitatis meritum, dilectionis sue confirmauit priuilegium in cruce [pendens] vni vestrum [ita<sup>1</sup>] dicens, Mulier ecce filius tuus. Deinde dixit discipulo, Ecce mater tua. In hujus ergo<sup>2</sup> sacratissimi amoris dulcedine, qua tunc ore dominico velut mater et filius adinuicem coniuncti estis. Vobis duobus ergo<sup>3</sup> miserrimus peccator commendo hodie corpus meum et animam meam, vt in omnibus horis atque momentis interius et exterius firmi custodes et pij apud Deum intercessores michi existere dignemini. Credo enim firmiter, et indubitanter fateor, quia velle vestrum velle Dei est: et nolle vestrum nolle Dei est. Unde quicquid ab eo<sup>4</sup> petitis, sine mora obtinetis. Per hanc ergo tam potentissimam vestre dignitatis virtutem poscite queso michi corporis et anime salutem. Agite queso vestris sacris orationibus vt cor meum inuicere et inhabitare dignetur Spiritus almus, gratiarum largitor optimus, qui me a cunctis viscerum† sordibus<sup>5</sup> expurget: virtutibus sacris illustret et exornet: in dilectione Dei et proximi perfecte stare et perseuerare me faciat et post huius vite cursum ad gaudia me ducat electorum suorum benignissimus Paraclitus. Qui cum Patre et Filio coeternus et consubstantialis cum eis et in eis viuunt et regnat omnipotens Deus in secula seculorum Amen.

### Oratio.

**S**ancta<sup>6</sup> Dei genitrix semperque virgo benedicta que a virgine et dilecto Jesu Christi Filij tui discipulo suscepta es in matrem.

Sancteque Johannes apostole et euangelista sacer virgo qui ab eodem magistro tuo Christo matri virgini commissus es in filium.

Precor vos per pijssimum Redemptorem nostrum, cui virgines sancti<sup>7</sup> in hac vita complacere meruisti, † vt<sup>8</sup> spiritum fornicationis a me procul elongetis: et ardorem libidinis in me prorsus orando extinguat: neque in vestra clientela suscipientes pudice et sancte viuere doceatis: quatenus in his castitatis floribus venundatus<sup>9</sup> ad pristinum virginitatis redeam meritum: et ab omni immunda sorde purgatus: in conspectu Domini nostri Jesu Christi merear apparere cum iustitia: et satiari cum apparuerit eius gloria. Qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto viuunt et regnant† Deus<sup>10</sup>. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> add. 'pendens' and 'ita': 17, Sar. 23.

<sup>3</sup> ego: 17; S. 23.

<sup>5</sup> vitiorum sordibus: Ebor. 17, Sar. 23, 133.

<sup>7</sup> sancte: 17.

<sup>8</sup> leg. meruistis.

<sup>2</sup> add 'tam': Sar. 23.

<sup>4</sup> illo: 17.

<sup>6</sup> add 'Maria': 17.

<sup>9</sup> venustatus: 17.

<sup>10</sup> leg. viuunt et regnat Deus. This prayer, *Sancta Maria Dei genitrix*, does not occur here in Sar. 35. It is found, however, as "*Another prayer to our Lady and St John the evangelist*" in Sarum 1494 (W. de Worde), 1506, and 1523, and in Wayland's English and Latin Hours, 1555. The 1535-6 Sarum book has here (fo. 43) "*A speciall deuoute prayer to our lady, Sancta Maria, regina celi et terre,*" &c., with a woodcut of the Tree of Jesse.



¶ *Oratio ad beatam virginem Mariam contra pestem*<sup>1</sup>.

Stella celi extirpauit,  
 que lactauit Dominum,  
 Mortis pestem, quam plantauit  
 primus parens hominum.  
 Ipsa stella nunc dignetur  
 sydera compescere:  
 Quorum bella plebem cedunt  
 dire mortis vlcere.  
 O gloriosa stella maris,  
 a peste nos<sup>2</sup> succurre nobis,  
 audi nos: nam Filius tuus†  
 nihil negans te honorat:  
 Salua nos, Jesu, pro quibus  
 virgo mater te orat.

V. Ora pro nobis, sancta Dei genitrix.

R. Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.

Oremus.

Deus misericordie, Deus pietatis, Deus indulgentie, qui misertus es super afflictionem populi, et dixisti angelo percutienti<sup>3</sup> populum tuum: sufficit: nunc contine manum tuam: ob<sup>4</sup> amorem illius stelle gloriose cuius vbera preciosa contra venenum delictorum nostrorum<sup>5</sup> quam dulciter suxisti: presta auxilium gratie tue, vt ab omni peste et improuisa morte secure liberemur, et a totius perditionis incursu saluemur. Per te Jesu Christe, Saluator mundi, Rex glorie. Qui viuis et regnas Deus Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen<sup>6</sup>.

¶ *Salutatio dicenda in honore beate Marie virginis.*

<sup>7</sup> Ave regina celorum,  
 aue domina angelorum,  
 Salue radix sancta,  
 ex qua mundo lux est orta.

<sup>1</sup> ¶ *Alia oratio de domina.* Y. (fo. 61).

<sup>2</sup> nos†: 36; omit. Sar. 23.

<sup>3</sup> percutientem†: 55.

<sup>4</sup> ab†: 55.

<sup>5</sup> meorum: Sar. 35. (nostrorum: 36. Sar. 23.)

<sup>6</sup> Qui cum Deo Patre: 55.—The Sarum *Horae* have among these suffrages several other devotions in honour of the B. Virgin. Some of these, such as *A deuoute prayer of the vii. sorowes of our blessyd lady* (Ave dulcis mater Christi) and the Rosary, appear near the end of this York book of 1536, and the others are contained in York 1517: as also is *De profundis*, with

“God saue the kynge,

And brynge vs to the blysse that neuer shall haue endynge.”

The *Oratio perpulchra super salutationem angelicam* “Ave fuit prima salus, qua vincitur hostis malus,” &c., ascribed to Giacopone da Todi (Tudertanus), appears in Sarum Primers printed by Pynson in 1513 and by W. de Worde in 1523 (fo. 42-3), and may be found in Mone, *Hymni Lat.* ii. 98, 99.

<sup>7</sup> To judge from Mr Hoskins' index, *Ave Regina celorum* does not appear in the Sarum *Horae* until 1506. Nor is it in Y.

Gaude gloriosa,  
super omnes speciosa.  
Vale, valde<sup>1</sup> decora :  
et pro nobis semper  
Christum exora.

¶ *Alia salutatio ad beatam virginem Mariam.*

<sup>2</sup> Regina celi letare alleluya.  
Quia quem meruisti portare alleluya.  
Resurrexit, sicut dixit. alleluya.  
Ora pro no-\*bis Deum alleluya.

\* Sig. H.  
(Top corner  
of leaf torn,  
1536.)

(According to the Tabula of the contents of this boke the 'Rosarium beate Marie,'  
*Suscipe rosarium*, should have been printed here. It was however omitted here and  
printed near the end of the volume in 1536.)

\*IN ELEVATIONE CORPORIS CHRISTI.

¶ *Oratio dicenda in eleuatione corporis Jesu Christi*<sup>3</sup>.

Ave verum corpus natum  
de Maria virgine.  
Vere passum, immolatum  
in cruce pro homine ;  
Cuius latus perforatum :  
vero fluxit<sup>4</sup> sanguine.  
Esto nobis pregustatum  
mortis in examine.  
O clemens, O pie.  
O Jesu, Fili Marie.

¶ *Alia oratio dicenda ad eleuationem corporis Christi.*

Aue Jesu Christe, verbum Patris, Filius virginis, agnus Dei, salus  
mundi, hostia sacra, verbum caro, fons pietatis.

Aue Jesu Christe, laus angelorum, gloria sanctorum, visio pacis, deitas  
integra, verus homo, flos et fructus virginitatis.

Aue Jesu Christe, splendor Patris, princeps pacis, ianua celi, panis  
vuius, virginis partus, vas deitatis.

Aue Jesu Christe, lumen celi, precium mundi, gaudium nostrum :  
angelorum panis, cordis iubilis, rex et sponsus virginitatis.

<sup>1</sup> 55 omits the second 'valde.'

<sup>2</sup> *Regina celi* is not found in the *Sarum Horae* or in *Y*.

<sup>3</sup> 'Thys prayer shall ye say at the eleuacyon of the holy sacrament in the masse.  
Aue verum, &c.' *Sar.* 1535-6 (fo. 57). *Ebor.* 1517, fo. 56<sup>b</sup>. *Y.* reads 'ad'; 'in  
eleuatione' 55.

<sup>4</sup> vnda fluxit : *Ebor.* 17, *Sar.* 35. (Cf. Mone, *Hymn. Lat.* i. 280-1.)

Aue Jesu Christe, via dulcis, veritas summa, premium nostrum, charitas vera, fons amoris, pax, dulcedo<sup>1</sup>, vita perennis.

Aue sanctissimum et preciosum<sup>2</sup> corpus Christi, quod in ara crucis pro mundi salute positum corde credo, ore confiteor hostiam veram<sup>3</sup>, hostiam puram<sup>4</sup>, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam<sup>5</sup> atque Deo placentem, panem sanctum vite eterne et calicem salutis perpetue<sup>6</sup>.

Adoro te in spiritu et veritate, Jesu pie, Jesu bone, miserere michi<sup>7</sup>.

¶ *Alia oratio ad elevationem calicis.*

Salve sanguis<sup>8</sup> preciosi Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui pro peccatis nostris effusus fuisti: tu<sup>9</sup> miserere nobis peccatoribus nunc et in hora mortis. Amen.

Te igitur, Deus, rogo te<sup>10</sup> vt sicut hic te video presentem in forma panis et vini: sic merear te videre in gloria maiestatis tue securus et gaudens in secula seculorum. amen. [Pater noster. Aue Maria.]

In presentia sacro† sancti corporis et sanguinis tui, Domine Jesu Christe, tibi commendo me miserum famulum tuum *N.* vt per virtutem sancte crucis tue, et<sup>11</sup> per mysterium sancte incarnationis, natiuitatis, baptismi, ieiunij, passionis, mortis, resurrectionis, ascensionis: et per aduentum sancti Spiritus paracliti, et per ineffabile nomen tuum, tu<sup>12</sup> qui es omnipotens Deus, alpha et oo, principium et finis; sabaoth, Adonay, Emanuel, quod es nobiscum Deus: via, veritas et vita, salus, victoria et resurrectio nostra: et precipue per inuocationem huius viuifici sacramenti corporis et sanguinis tui, quod michi inuoco in auxilium, quamuis multis peccatis inuolutus, tamen a te reatus† et<sup>13</sup> preciosissimo sanguine tuo redemptus, et in te solo Deo viuo et vero credens et sperans ab omnibus malis meis<sup>14</sup> per illud hodie et in omni tempore tuearis, defendas ac liberes a damnatu et insidijs, captione et vinculis, laqueis et telis, iaculis, armis et sagittis, et potestate omnium inimicorum meorum visibilibus et inuisibilibus: necnon ab omnibus maleficijs, ab omni pestifero cibo et potu venenoso, dolore, verecundia, morbo, confusione, detractioe: ab omnibus scandalis atque periculis: ab omni lapsu, ruina, lesione, incommodo, impedimento anime et corporis, necnon a subitanea et improuisa et eterna morte me liberare digneris: et hec cuncta mala procul a me misericorditer repellere digneris per hoc sanctum mysterium passionis tue nostreque redemptionis, cui me semper ad saluandum vbique committo fiducialiter sperans me per hoc saluari. Ergo misericordissime Deus, qui non vis mortem peccatoris, sed vt conuertatur et viuatur: quia omnes ad te clamantes, et in te sperantes exaudis: me

<sup>1</sup> pax durabilis, 17 (fo. 58).

<sup>3-4</sup> omit 17.

<sup>2</sup> preciosissimum: Y.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Missale*, i. 186.

<sup>3</sup> vera†: 17.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> 'Jesu bone: Jesu mei miserere.' *Ebor.* 17, *Sar.* 35, fo. 58<sup>b</sup>. 'Salve sanguis... mortis amen' is then omitted, but 'Te igitur...seculorum. Amen. Pater noster. Aue' continues, as a conclusion to 'Aue Jesu.' *Sar.*, Y.

<sup>8</sup> sanguinis†: 55.

<sup>9</sup> effusus tu fuisti: 55.

<sup>10</sup> omit. 'te': 17, Y. (The Marian *Horae* do not contain 'Te igitur,' &c.)

<sup>11</sup> omit 'et': 17.

<sup>12</sup> omit 'tu': 17.

<sup>13</sup> creatus et: *Sar.*

<sup>14</sup> me: 17.

quoque peccatorem exaudi, et omnes quos precioso sanguine tuo redemisti: ad te reuoca: et dono gratie tue illustra: et secundum multitudinem misericordie tue miserere mei, sicut vis et scis, dans [michi]<sup>1</sup> corporis et anime veram salutem: licet peccaui, tamen non te negaui: exaudi orationem meam, pie Jesu, et mitte michi gratiam tuam, que me vbique comitetur et conseruet ab omnibus malis, et ad vitam perducatur eternam, te miserante. Qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto viuus et regnas Deus. Per omnia secula seculorum. amen.

[Oremus<sup>1</sup>.]

**D**omine Jesu Christe, qui hanc sacratissimam carnem tuam de gloriose virginis Marie vtero assumpsisti, et hunc preciosum sanguinem tuum de sacratissimo latere tuo, pro salute nostra, in ara crucis effudisti: et in hac gloriosa carne a morte resurrexisti: et ad celos ascendisti, et iterum venturus es iudicare viuos et mortuos in eadem carne. Libera nos per hoc sacrosanctum corpus tuum, quod modo in altari tractatur, ab omnibus peccatis et immundicijs mentis et corporis, et ab vniuersis malis et periculis nunc et in eternum. [Amen<sup>1</sup>.]

#### DE SANCTISSIMA TRINITATE<sup>2</sup>.

**S**ANCTA Trinitas, vnus Deus, miserere nobis.

**S**O beata et gloriosa Trinitas, miserere nobis.

O sacra et summa et sempiterna Trinitas, miserere nobis.

O vera et gloriosa et ineffabilis Trinitas, et vna Deitas, summa et incomparabilis bonitas: eterna et suauissima claritas<sup>3</sup>: trium Personarum indiuisa maiestas. O Pater bone, o Fili pie, o Spiritus paraclite. O lumen indeficiens, vnus Deus: cuius opus vita, cuius amor gratia: cuius contemplatio gloria est omnium sanctorum. Te, Domine, inuoco, te adoro, te toto cordis affectu nunc et in seculum benedico. Alpha et oo, Agyos, Emanuel, sancte Deus, sancte fortis, sancte et immortalis miserere nobis.

Memento mei Deus meus in bonum, et da propitius veniam ne pereat opus manuum tuarum; tu es creator meus, tu es spes mea, tu es salutare meum, Domine: ex quo omnia, per quem omnia, in quo omnia, ipsi honor et gloria in secula.

[Oremus<sup>4</sup>.]

**D**eus, qui superbis resistis, et humilibus das gratiam: tu michi succurre de hac tribulatione et angustia: quia credo quod nullus est qui possit resistere voluntati tue<sup>5</sup>, et si decreueris salutare<sup>6</sup> nos, continuo liberabimur. Per Dominum. [Pater noster. Aue<sup>4</sup>.]

<sup>1</sup> add. 17, Y.

<sup>2</sup> A small woodcut (1 x 4 in.) representing the Ever Blessed Trinity. *A prayer to the Trinity* appears in the *Sarum Horae* of 1494, but I do not find it in *Sar.* 1535-6. It is here in Y.

<sup>3</sup> caritas: *Ebor.* 1517 (fo. 47<sup>b</sup>). caritas: Y. fo. 63<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> add 17.

<sup>5</sup> tue voluntati: 17.

<sup>6</sup> saluare: 17, Y.

**D**eus, qui liberasti Susannam de falso crimine, et Daniele de lacu leonum, et tres pueros de camino ignis ardentis, [et]<sup>1</sup> Petro mergenti dexteram porrexisti: tu me liberare digneris de hac et omni tribulatione et angustia: ac de potestate omnium inimicorum meorum: et de omnibus qui consentiunt eis: quia nescio vbi fugiam, nisi ad Deum: quia non est aliud<sup>2</sup>† qui me adiuuet, nisi tu solus Deus: qui in Trinitate perfecta viuis et regnas Deus. Per omnia secula seculorum. amen. [Pater noster<sup>3</sup>.]

**D**omine Jesu Christe, qui me creasti et<sup>4</sup> redemisti et preordinasti ad hoc quod sum: tu scis quid de me facere vis: fac de me secundum voluntatem tuam cum misericordia. [Pater noster. Ave Maria<sup>5</sup>.]

Domine Jesu Christe, qui solus es sapientia, tu scis que michi peccatori expediunt, prout tibi placet: et sicut in oculis tue maiestatis videtur de me, ita fiat cum misericordia [tua. Amen.] Pater noster. Ave Maria.

<sup>5</sup> ¶ *Ante sumptionem corporis Christi.*

**S**alue salutaris hostia, pro me et omni humano generi in patibulo crucis obolata. Salue nobilis et preciosissime sanguis de latere crucifixi Domini mei Jesus Christi fluens, et totius veteris ac noue macule culpas abluens. Aufer igitur a me, clementissime Jesu, omnis iniquitatis offensas, qui grauissimis vitijs sum<sup>6</sup> sordidatus: vt purificatus mente et corpore accedere merear ad sancta sanctorum: et sacramenta tui corporis et sanguinis degustare. Supplex enim, o miserator hominum, obsecro: vt que ad delenda peccata hominum dedisti, non michi sint ad peccatorum augmenta<sup>7</sup>: sed ad indulgentiam et tuitionem. Fac me, Domine, ita ea ore et corde percipere, atque fide<sup>8</sup> et affectu sentire: vt [per] eorum -36 virtutem merear confirmari similitudini mortis et resurrectionis tue per veteris hominis mortificationem, et nouitatem iuste vite: vt dignus sim corpori tuo, quod est ecclesia, incorporari, et sim membrum tuum, et tu caput meum: vt maneam in te, et tu in me: quatenus in resurrectione resumes<sup>9</sup> corpus humilitatis mee configuratum corpori claritatis tue, secundum promissionem apostoli, et in te in eternum gaudeam de gloria tua. Amen.

¶ *In sumptione corporis Christi<sup>10</sup>.*

**D**omine, non sum dignus vt intres sub tectum meum: sed tantum dic verbo, et sanabitur puer meus<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> ¶ *Post sumptionem corporis Christi<sup>10</sup>.*

**G**ratias ago tibi, omnipotens et misericors Deus: gratiarum actiones tremende tue maiestati pijssime et immense Pater habeo, quia me indignum et miserum peccatorem precioso corpore et sanguine Filij tui

<sup>1</sup> add. 17, Y.

<sup>2</sup> alius: 17, Y.

<sup>3</sup> add 17.

<sup>4</sup> omit. 'et': 17, Y.

<sup>5</sup> The prayers *Salue salutaris* and *Gratias ago* appear in *Sar.* 1511, and in *Ebor.* 17, and 36 (not Y).

<sup>6</sup> sum vicijs: 17.

<sup>7</sup> augmentum: 17.

<sup>8</sup> fidei†: *Ebor.* 36.

<sup>9</sup> reformes: 17.

<sup>10</sup> omit 'Christi': 17. (lf. cv. verso.)

<sup>11</sup> puer meus: 36 (as *Matt. viii. 8, Vulg.*); anima mea: 17.



Domini nostri Jesu Christi consolari et satiari<sup>1</sup> dignatus es. Queso igitur, dulcissime Domine Jesu, vt hec sancta<sup>2</sup> communio non sit michi ad iudicium et condemnationem, sed tua gratia et pietate sit michi sanitas<sup>3</sup> et dulcedo anime mee: salus et sanctitas in omni tentatione: pax et gaudium in omni tribulatione: lumen et virtus in omni verbo et opere: solatium et tutela finalis in morte ad euadendas et conterendas omnium inimicorum meorum insidias<sup>4</sup>: et proficiat michi ad salutem corporis et anime in vitam eternam. Et presta vt ibi nulla immaneatur peccati macula: vbi tam sancta introierunt miracula. Amen.

¶ *Oratio ad tres reges.*

Rex Jasper, rex Melchior, rex Balthasar: rogo vos per singula nomina<sup>5</sup>, rogo vos per sanctam Trinitatem, rogo [vos]<sup>6</sup> per Regem regum, quem vagientem in cunis videre meruistis, vt compatiamini tribulationum mearum hodie: et intercedite pro me ad Dominum, cuius desiderio exules facti estis: et sicut vos per angelicam annunciationem de reditu ab Herode eripuit: ita me hodie liberare dignetur ab omnibus inimicis meis visibilibus et inuisibilibus, a subitanea et improuisa morte et ab omni mala confusione, mala fama et omni periculo corporis et anime.

V. Reges Tharsis et insule munera offerent.

R. Reges Arabum et Saba dona adducent.

*Oratio.*

Deus illuminator [omnium]<sup>8</sup> gentium, da populis tuis perpetua pace gaudere, et illud lumen splendidum infunde cordibus nostris, quod trium magorum mentibus aspirasti<sup>7</sup> Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum. Qui tecum viuit et regnat [in vnitatem] Spiritus sancti Deus Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

[¶ *An other prayer to the .iij. kynges of Colen<sup>8</sup>.*]

Trium regum  
trinum munus:  
Christus homo  
Deus vnus:  
vnus in essentia.  
Trina dona  
tres signantur<sup>9</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> satiare: 17.

<sup>4</sup> insidijs†: 36.

<sup>5</sup> A woodcut ( $1\frac{7}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$  in.) is set here in the margin. It represents the Adoration by the Magi. These prayers are found in *Sarum* 1494 and 1523 ('To the thre kynges of Coleyne'): but I do not see the 1st and 2nd in *Sar.* 35.

<sup>6</sup> add. 17 (fo. 48), Y. (fo. 64<sup>b</sup>, 65).

<sup>7</sup> inspirasti: *Ebor.* 17, Y.

<sup>8</sup> So *Ebor.* 1517, fo. 48<sup>b</sup>, and *Sar.* 35 (fo. 51<sup>b</sup>), '*Alia oratio ad tres reges*,' Y. There is no heading in *Ebor.* 36.

<sup>9</sup> signentur: *Ebor.* 17, *Sar.*, Y.

<sup>2</sup> sancto†: 36.

<sup>3</sup> suauitas: 17.

Rex ex<sup>1</sup> auro,  
 Deus thure:  
 [et] mirrha<sup>2</sup> mortalitas.  
 Colunt reges  
 propter regem,  
 Summi reges<sup>3</sup>  
 seruent Regem<sup>4</sup>:  
 coloni Colonie.  
 Nos in fide  
 sumus riui,  
 hi sunt fontes  
 primitiui:  
 gentium primitie.  
 Tu nos ab<sup>5</sup> hac,  
 Christe, valle,  
 duc ad vitam  
 recto calle:  
 per horum suffragia.  
 Ubi Patris  
 vbi Nati,  
 tui et Amoris sacri frui<sup>6</sup>  
 mereamur gloria.

V. Vidimus stellam eius in oriente.

R. Et venimus cum muneribus adorare Dominum.

[Oremus.]

*Oratio.*

**D**eus, qui tres magos orientales, Jaspar, Melchior, et Balthasar, ad [tua] cunabula<sup>7</sup> (vt te mysticis venerarentur muneribus) sine impedimento, stella duce, duxisti: concede propitius: vt per horum trium regum pias intercessionem et merita commemorationem† nobis<sup>8</sup> famulis tuis tribuas, vt itinere quo ituri sumus celeritate, letitia, gratia et pace, te ipso, sole vero, vera stella, vera luminis luce, ad loca destinata in pace [et salute]<sup>9</sup> et negotio bene peracto, cum omni prosperitate salui et sani redire valeamus. Qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto viuus et regnas Deus Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> in: 17. <sup>2</sup> et myrrha: *Sar.*, Y.; mirrha: *Ebor.* 36; myrrha: 17.

<sup>3</sup> regis: *Ebor.* Y.; reges: *Sar.* <sup>4</sup> gregem: Y. <sup>5</sup> ob: 36.

<sup>6</sup> fui: *Ebor.* 17.

<sup>7</sup> ad presepe: *Sar.* 23 (fo. 8), in the similar (but shorter) prayer 'whan thou goost fyrst out.'

<sup>8</sup> merita commemorationum nobis: *Sar.*, *Ebor.* 17, Y.

<sup>9</sup> pace et salute: *Sar.*, *Ebor.* 17, Y.

[THE .XV. OOS OF SAYNT BRYGITTE<sup>1</sup>.]

¶ *Quindecim orationes sequentes, si quis deuote cum totidem Pater noster. et Aue Maria semel omni die per totum annum continuando dixerit, ob honorem et memoriam vulnerum Jesu Christi, magnas indulgentias merebitur*<sup>2</sup>. *Et anno sic continuato et completo vnum quodque vulnus Domini nostri Jesu Christi cum vna sola oratione et Pater noster specialiter honorauit: quarum etiam orationum virtus et meritum multis claruit exemplis.*

*Oratio prima.*

<sup>3</sup> O Domine Jesu Christe, eterna dulcedo te amantium, iubilus excedens omne gaudium et omne desiderium, Salus et amator omnium vere penitentium peccatorum: qui delicias tuas attestatus es esse cum filijs hominum propter hominem homo factus es in fine temporum. Memento omnis premeditationis et intimi meroris quem<sup>4</sup> in humano corpore sustinuisti: instante saluberrime passionis tue tempore in diuino corde ab eterno preordinata. Memento tristitie et amaritudinis quas in animo, teipso attestante, habuisti, quando in vltima cena discipulis tuis corpus et sanguinem tuum tradidisti, pedes eorum lauisti, ac dulciter eos consolando imminentem passionem tuam<sup>5</sup> predixisti. Memento omnis tremoris, angustie et doloris quos in tuo delicato corpore ante passionem [crucis]<sup>6</sup> tue pertulisti: quando post trinam orationem et sanguineum sudorem a tuo discipulo tradebaris, ab electa gente capiebaris, a falsis testibus accusabaris, a tribus iudicibus iniuste iudicabaris, in electa ciuitate, in paschali tempore, in florida corporis tui<sup>5</sup> iuuentute innocenter condemnabaris, veste propria exuebaris, et veste aliena induebaris, colaphizabaris, oculis et facie velabaris, alapis cedebaris, ad columnam ligabaris, et<sup>5</sup> flagellabaris, spinis coronabaris, arundine in capite feriebaris: et innumerabilibus alijs calumnijs lacerabaris. Da michi, queso, ob memoriam harum ante crucem tuam passionum, veram ante mortem meam contritionem: puram confessionem, dignam satisfactionem et omnium peccatorum meorum remissionem. Amen.

Pater noster. Aue Maria.

<sup>1</sup> 'Sequuntur .xv. orationes sancte Brigitte,' Y. This title is given in the *Tabula* at the end of Ebor. 35.

<sup>2</sup> "¶ These be the .xv. oos the wyche the holy virgyn saint Brygitta was wounte to say dayly before the holy rode in Saint Paules chyrche at Rome: whoso say this a hole yere, he shall deleuer .xv. soules out of purgatory of hys nexte kindreed, and comerte other .xv. symmers to gode lyf, and other .xv. ryghtuouse men of hys kynde shall perseuer in gode lyf. And whas† ye desyre of God, ye shall haue it, yf it be to the saluacyon of your soule." Sar. 35 (fo. 52) and Ebor. 17.

<sup>3</sup> Woodcut (1 $\frac{1}{16}$  × 1 $\frac{1}{8}$  in.) of St Bridget kneeling before an altar and crucifix, her staff at her left knee.

<sup>4</sup> quas: Sar., Y.

<sup>5</sup> omit. Sar., Y.

<sup>6</sup> omit 'crucis': 35.

*Oratio secunda*<sup>1</sup>.

**O** Jesu, vera libertas angelorum, paradisus deliciarum. Memento terroris et horrois quos sustinebas quando inimici tui, quasi leones ferocissimi, te circumstiterunt, et colaphizationibus, conspuitionibus, vngulationibus, ceterisque inauditis penis te molestauerunt. Et per omnia verba contumeliosa, dira verbera, durissimaque tormenta, Domine Jesu Christe: et per penas quibus te omnes inimici tui affligerunt. Deprecor te vt liberes me ab omnibus inimicis meis visibilibus et inuisibilibus: et dones me sub vmbra alarum tuarum protectionem salutis eterne inuenire. Amen.

Pater noster. Ave Maria.

*Oratio tertia.*

**O** Jesu, mundi fabricator, quem nulla dimensio vera<sup>2</sup> in termino metitur: qui terram palmo concludis, recordare amarissimi doloris tui, quem sustinebas, cum suauiissimas manus tuas ad crucem Judei<sup>3</sup> obtusis clauibus primo crudelissime affixerunt: et perforando delicatissimos et sacratissimos pedes tuos, cum non esses conueniens voluntati eorum, dolorem super dolorem addiderunt vulneribus tuis: et ita te crudeliter detraxerunt et extenderunt in longum et latum crucis tue: vt dissoluerentur compagine membrorum tuorum. Deprecor te per<sup>4</sup> huius sacratissimi et amarissimi in cruce doloris memoriam: vt des michi timorem et amorem tuum.

Pater noster. Ave Maria.

*Oratio .iiii.*

**O** Jesu, celestis medice: recordare languoris, liuoris et doloris quos in alto crucis patibulo leuatus passus es in omnibus dilaceratis membris tuis, quorum nullum in suo statu recte permanserat: ita vt nullus dolor similis tuo dolori<sup>5</sup> inueniretur, quia a planta pedis vsque ad verticem capitis non fuit in te sanitas: tunc<sup>6</sup> quasi omnium dolorum immemor Patrem pro inimicis exorasti dicens, Pater ignosce illis: quia nesciunt quid faciunt. Per hanc misericordiam, et ob memoriam illius doloris, concede vt hec memoria passionis tue amarissime sit omnium peccatorum meorum plena remissio. Amen.

Pater noster. Ave Maria.

*Oratio quinta.*

**O** Jesu, speculum claritatis diuine, memento terroris et meroris quos habuisti quando nudus et miserabilis in cruce pependisti: et omnes amici et noti tui<sup>7</sup> aduersum te steterunt: et nullum consolantem inueniebas: sed solummodo dilectam genitricem tuam in amaritudine

<sup>1</sup> The York MS. 16.9.5 places nos. 3, 4 ('O Jesu mundi fabricator' and 'O J. celestis') above no. 2.

<sup>2</sup> vero: Sar., Y.

<sup>3</sup> This ascription of Roman cruelties to the Jews is noticeable. Cf. p. 123, n.<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> vt: 35.

<sup>5</sup> tui† dolori: 35; tuo dolori: Sar.; dolori tuo: Y.

<sup>6</sup> et tunc: Sar., Y.

<sup>7</sup> omit 'tui': Sar.

anime tibi fidelissime astantem: quam dilecto discipulo tuo commendasti dicens, Mulier ecce filius tuus: <sup>1</sup>et ad discipulum tuum, Ecce mater tua<sup>2</sup>. Rogo te, pie Jesu, per gladium doloris, qui tunc eius animam pertransiuit, vt compatiaris michi in omnibus tribulationibus et afflictionibus meis corporalibus et spiritualibus: et da michi consolationem in omni tribulationis tempore. Amen.

Pater. Aue.

*Oratio sexta.*

**O** Jesu, Rex amabilis, et amice totus desiderabilis: memento illius meroris quem habuisti quando in speculo serenissime maiestatis tue conspexisti predestinationem electorum tuorum per merita tue passionis saluandorum: et reprobationem malorum in multitudine damnandorum: et per abyssum miserationis tue, qua nobis perditis et desperatis peccatoribus tunc condoluisti: et precipue quando latroni in cruce exhibuisti† dicens, Hodie mecum eris in paradiso. Rogo te, pie Jesu, vt facias mecum misericordiam tuam in hora mortis mee. Amen.

Pater noster. Aue Maria.

*Oratio .vij.*

**O** Jesu, fons inexhauste pietatis qui ex intimo dilectionis affectu in cruce dixisti, Sitio: scilicet salutem humani generis: accende, quesumus, nostrum desiderium ad omne opus perfectum: et sitim carnalis concupiscentie: et estum mundane delectationis in nobis penitus refrigera et extingue. Amen.

Pater noster. Aue Maria.

*Oratio .viii.*

**O** Jesu, dulcedo cordium: ingensque sanitas<sup>3</sup> mentium per amaritudinem aceti et fellis quam pro nobis sustinuisti et degustasti in hora mortis tue: concede nobis corpus et sanguinem tuum digne percipere ad remedium et consolationem animarum nostrarum. Amen.

Pater noster. Aue Maria.

*Oratio .ix.*

**O** Jesu regalis, virtusque<sup>4</sup> mentalis: memento doloris et angustie quam<sup>5</sup> passus es, quando pre mortis amaritudine et Judeorum insultatione cum magna voce te a Deo Patre derelictum clamasti dicens Deus meus, Deus meus, vt quid dereliquisti me? Per hanc angustiam peto<sup>6</sup> te vt in angustijs mortis nostre ne derelinquas nos, Deus noster. Amen.

Pater noster. Aue Maria.

<sup>1-2</sup> omit. Sar., Y. It will be noticed that the 4th-9th and the 13th prayers of the series refer to the Seven Last Sayings upon the Cross.

<sup>3</sup> suauitas: Sar., Y.

<sup>5</sup> quos: Sar., Y.

<sup>4</sup> regalis virtus, iubilusque: Sar., Y.

<sup>6</sup> oro: Sar.



*Oratio .x.*

**O** Jesu, alpha et oo, vita et virtus: in omni medio<sup>1</sup> recordare quod a summo capitis vsque ad plantam pedis te pro nobis in aqua passionis demersisti: propter latitudinem et magnitudinem vulnerum tuorum, doce me per veram charitatem [custodire] latum mandatum tuum nimis in<sup>2</sup> peccatis demersum. Amen.

Pater noster. Aue.

*Oratio .xj.*

**O** Jesu, abyssus profundissime misericordie: rogo te propter profunditatem vulnerum tuorum, que transierunt carnem tuam et medullam ossium ac viscerum tuorum: vt me submersum in peccatis emergas, et abscondas in foraminibus vulnerum tuorum a facie ire tue, Domine, donec pertranseat furor tuus. Amen.

Pater noster. Aue Maria.

*Oratio .xij.*

**O** Jesu, regalis speculum vnitatis signum<sup>3</sup> et charitatis vinculum: memento innumerabilium vulnerum tuorum, quibus a summo capitis vsque ad imum pedis vulneratus fuisti, et ab iniquis Judeis laceratus fuisti: et sanctissimo sanguine tuo rubricatus: quam magnitudinem doloris in virginea carne tua pertulisti pro nobis, pie Jesu, quid vltra facere debuisti, quod non fecisti? scribe, queso, pie Jesu, omnia vulnera tua in corde meo preciosissimo sanguine tuo: vt in illis legam dolorem et amorem tuum: vt in gratiarum actione vsque in finem vite mee iugiter perseuerem. Amen.

Pater noster. Aue Maria.

*Oratio .xij.*

**O** Jesu, leo fortissime, rex immortalis et inuictissime: memento doloris quem passus es, cum omnes vires cordis et corporis tui penitus defecerunt: et inclinato capite (Consummatum est) dixisti. Per hanc angustiam et dolorem miserere mei, cum anima mea in vltima consummatione exitus spiritus mei anxiata fuerit et conturbata. Amen.

Pater noster. Aue Maria.

*Oratio .xiiij.*

**O** Jesu, vnigenite altissimi Patris splendor et figura substantie eius: memento illius obnixae commendationis qua Patri spiritum commendasti dicens: Pater in \*manus tuas commendo spiritum meum. Et lacerato corpore ruptoque<sup>4</sup> corde cum valido clamore patefactis visceribus misericordie tue pro nobis redimendis expirasti: per hanc preciosam mortem tuam deprecor te, Rex sanctorum, conforta me ad resistendum diabolo, mundo, et carni: vt mortuus tibi viuam: et in nouissima hora exitus mei suscipe ad te reuertentem spiritum meum exulem et peregrinum. Amen.

Pater noster. Aue Maria.

<sup>1</sup> in omni tempore: *Sar.*

<sup>2</sup> custodire mandatum tuum in: *Sar.* (*Ebor. Y.*, 36 omit 'custodire').

<sup>3</sup> veritatis speculum, vnitatis signum: *Sar.*, *Y. M.*

<sup>4</sup> et rupto; *Sar.*, *Y.*

## Oratio .xv.

O Jesu, vitis vera et fecunda: memento supereffluentis et abundantis effusionis sanguinis tui: quem tu, sicut de botro expresso, copiose effudisti: quando in cruce torcular solus calcasti. Et ex lancea militari percusso latere nobis sanguinem et aquam propinasti: ita vt pauca vel minima gutta in te remaneret, et demum quasi myrrhe fasciculus in altum suspensus fuisti: et delicata caro tua euauit: et liquor viscerum tuorum exaruit: medulla ossium tuorum emarcuit. Per hanc amarissimam passionem tuam, et preciosi sanguinis tui effusionem, O dulcis Jesu, vulnera cor meum, vt penitentie et amoris lachryme sint michi panes die ac nocte: et conuerte me totaliter ad te: vt cor meum tibi sit perpetuo habitabile: et conuersatio mea tibi placita sit et accepta semper: ac finis vite mee ita laudabilis: vt post huius vite terminum te merear laudare cum omnibus sanctis tuis in eternum. Amen.

Pater noster. Aue Maria. Credo.

¶ Quicumque in statu gratie existens dixerit deuote septem orationes sequentes cum .vij. Pater noster. et .vij. Aue maria. ante imaginem pietatis, merebitur .lvij. milia annorum indulgentiarum, que a tribus summis pontificibus date fuerunt videlicet primo a beato Gregorio .xiiij. M.<sup>1</sup> annoru[m; secundo a] papa Nicholas quinto .xiiij. M. cccc. annorum anno domini [M. cccc.<sup>o</sup>.: et tertio] a papa Sixto [quarto, qui c]omposuit quar[tam et quin]tam orati[culas, & se]quentium suf[frag]iorum has indulgentias duplicauit Anno domini. M. cccclxxviii.

<sup>1</sup> This page (leaf .i.) is torn in the Lincoln copy. Y. (fo. lxix-lxx) and the Sarum *Horae* of 1535-6 have the indulgence stated differently thus (fo. 54<sup>b</sup>): "¶ To all them that before this ymage of pyte deuoutly saye .v. Pater noster & .v. Aues. and a Credo. pytiously beholding these armes of crystes passion. are graunted .xxxij. M. vij. hondreth et .lv. yeres of pardon. And Sixtus the .iiij. pope of Rome hath made the .iiij. and the .v. prayer, and hath doubtyld thys forsayde pardon." On the Indulgence called the Image of Pity, or Mass of St Gregory, see Henry Bradshaw's *Collected Papers*, pp. 84-100, 257, and my appendix to *Sarum Pica* or *Directorium Sacerdotum*. In this colophon, 'beato Gregorio' probably refers to Gregory the Great. No doubt the numeral '.xiiij.' relates to the thousands of years in the indulgence. Nicholas V reigned as Pope in 1447-55, and Sixtus IV in 1471-84. The number of years, lents, or days, granted by various popes in connexion with *oratiunculae* said in devotion before the 'Image of Pity of our Lord,' or the 'Pity of our Lady,' differ very considerably, as H. Bradshaw pointed out (*loco citato*). In the present instance the number of years which we supply in the *lacuna* where the unique (Lincoln) copy of 1536 is defective, must certainly be 14500, according to the exigencies of arithmetic. It seems then not incongruous to suppose that the year of our Lord, wherein Nicholas V granted this number of years' pardon, bore the cognate number, 1450. Not improbably it suggested the extent of this intermediate grant in connexion with the Jubilee in his pontificate, A.D. 1450.

SANCTI GREGORII<sup>1</sup>.

**A**DORO te, Domine Jesu Christe, in cruce pendentem<sup>2</sup>: et coronam spineam in capite portantem: deprecor te, Domine Jesu Christe, vt tua crux<sup>3</sup> liberet me ab angelo percutiente. Amen.

Pater noster. Aue Maria, gratia.

Adoro te, Domine Jesu Christe, in cruce vulneratum, felle et aceto potatum: deprecor te, Domine Jesu Christe, vt vulnera tua sint remedium anime mee. Amen.

Pater noster. Aue Maria.

Adoro te, Domine Jesu Christe, in sepulchro positum, myrrha et aromatibus<sup>4</sup> conditum: deprecor te Domine Jesu Christe, vt mors tua sit vita mea. Amen.

Pater noster. Aue Maria.

Adoro te, Domine Jesu Christe, descendentem ad inferos, liberantem-que<sup>5</sup> captiuos: deprecor te, ne permittas me illuc introire. Amen.

Pater noster. Aue Maria.

Adoro te, Domine Jesu Christe, resurgentem a mortuis, ascendentem-que<sup>6</sup> ad celos: sedentemque ad dexteram Patris, deprecor te, miserere mei. Amen.

Pater noster. Aue Maria.

O Domine Jesu Christe, pastor bone, iustos conserua, peccatores iustifica, et omnibus<sup>7</sup> fidelibus miserere: et propicius esto michi<sup>8</sup> peccatori. [Amen.]

Pater noster. Aue Maria.

O Domine Jesu Christe, rogo te propter<sup>9</sup> illam maximam amaritudinem passionis tue quam sustinuisti propter<sup>9</sup> me in cruce: et maxime quando anima tua nobilissima egressa est de corpore tuo sanctissimo: miserere ergo anime mee in egressu suo. Amen.

Pater noster. Aue Maria. Credo.

V. Adoramus te, Christe, et benedicimus tibi.

R. Quia per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mundum.

Domine, exaudi orationem meam.

Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

[Oremus.]

Oratio.

**B**enignissime Domine Jesu Christe: respice super me miserum peccatorem oculis misericordie tue quibus respexisti Petrum in atrio: Mariam Magdalenam in conuiuio; et latronem in crucis patibulo: [et]

<sup>1</sup> Woodcut (27 × 2 in.) of the Mass of (?) St Gregory. Paten on chalice, book open on north part of altar. The Priest and two assistants kneel. Of these, the Deacon and sub-deacon hold torches. The Deacon (N.) supports back of chasuble; the sub-deacon (S.) holds a sacring bell. Our Lord appears showing his wounds (half length). To his right are lantern, hammer, pincers, 3 nails, 6 hosts (or silver pieces?). To his left, ladder, 3 dice, sponge on reed, and spear: crossing these last, a scourge.

<sup>2</sup> penitentem†: 55.

<sup>3</sup> crux tua: Sar., 55.

<sup>4</sup> aromatibus†: 55.

<sup>5</sup> libertatemque†: 55.

<sup>6</sup> omit. '-que?': Sar., 55.

<sup>7</sup> iustificationibus†: 55.

<sup>8</sup> add 'miserrimo': 55.

<sup>9-9</sup> omit 55.

concede michi vt cum beato Petro peccata mea digne defleam : et cum Maria Magdalena perfecte te diligam : et cum latrone in celesti paradiso eternaliter te videam. Qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto viuus et regnas Deus Per omnia secula seculorum.

¶ *Oratio dicenda ante crucifixum*<sup>1</sup>.

**O** PIE crucifixe, redemptor omnium populorum, qui pro salute generis humani ab impiorum manibus mortis supplicium pertulisti: propter nomen sanctum tuum, et per merita et intercessionem beatissime genitricis tue Marie: et omnium sanctorum tuorum, propicius esto michi peccatori, et exaudi preces famuli tui, secundum multitudinem misericordie tue. Amen.

Pater noster. Aue Maria.

Domine Jesu Christe, qui gloriosum caput tuum angelis et hominibus venerandum spinea corona dehonestari voluisti: vt sanguis deflueret in redemptionem mundi: propter nomen sanctum tuum, et per merita et intercessionem beatissime genitricis tue Marie: et omnium sanctorum tuorum, indulge michi peccatori quicquid sensibus capitis mei deliqui: Domine, miserere super me. *N.* peccatore. Amen.

Pater noster. Aue.

Domine J. C., qui gloriosas manus tuas in cruce clauibus<sup>2</sup> perforari voluisti: vt sanguis<sup>3</sup> efflueret in redemptionem mundi: propter nomen &c., indulge michi peccatori quicquid per tactum illicitum, et per illicitam operationem deliqui: Domine, miserere super me. *N.* peccatore. Amen.

Pater noster. Aue Maria.

Domine J. C., qui preciosum latus tuum in cruce lancea militis perforari voluisti: vt sanguis et vnda fluerent<sup>4</sup> in redemptionem mundi, propter &c., indulge michi peccatori quicquid per illicitas cogitationes et per ardorem libidinis<sup>5</sup> deliqui: Domine, miserere super me. *N.* peccatore. Amen.

Pater. Aue.

Domine J. C., qui preciosos pedes tuos in cruce clavis perforari voluisti: vt sanguis efflueret in redemptionem mundi, propter &c., indulge michi peccatori quicquid per incessum<sup>6</sup> pedum deliqui: Domine, miserere super me. *N.* peccatore. Amen.

Pater noster. Aue Maria. Credo in Deum.

Domine Jesu Christe: qui totum corpus tuum in cruce extendi voluisti: ita vt omnia ossa tua possent dinumerari, propter nomen sanctum tuum, et per merita et intercessionem beatissime genitricis tue Marie: et omnium sanctorum tuorum, indulge michi peccatori quicquid

<sup>1</sup> Woodcut ( $1\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{8}$  in.) of Crucifix, Mary and John. In *Sar.* this is called 'A deuoute prayer to our lorde crucified in† the crosse for the redempeyon of man. Pater noster. *Oratio* O Pie crucifixe.' (fo. 55.) Y. has here ¶ *Oratio coram ymaginem crucifixi dicenda.* Precor te amantissime, &c. before 'A deuoute prayer to the crucifyxe. O Pie,' &c.

<sup>2</sup> clavis: Y. 36.

<sup>5</sup> libidinis†: 36.

<sup>3</sup> sanguinis: 36.

<sup>6</sup> incensum: 36.

<sup>4</sup> flueret: 36.



per officium omnium membrorum meorum male deliqui: Domine, miserere super me *N.* peccatore. Amen.

Pater noster. Ave Maria. Credo<sup>1</sup>.

*V.* Adoramus te Christe, et benedicimus tibi.

*R.* Quia per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mundum.

Domine, exaudi orationem meam.

Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

Oremus.

**D**eus, qui voluisti pro redemptione mundi nasci: a Judeis reprobari: et<sup>2</sup> a Juda [traditore]<sup>3</sup> osculo tradi: et<sup>2</sup> vinculis alligari<sup>4</sup>: et vt<sup>5</sup> agnus innocens ad victimam duci: ante conspectum Pylati<sup>6</sup> offerri: a falsis testibus accusari: colaphis cedi: [flagellis]<sup>7</sup> et opprobrijs vexari: sputis conspui<sup>7</sup>: spinis<sup>8</sup> coronari: in cruce leuari: lancea vulnerari: atque<sup>2</sup> inter latrones deputari: clauorum quoque aculeis perforari: felle et aceto potari<sup>9</sup>: tu, Domine [Jesu Christe]<sup>3</sup>, per has sanctissimas penas tuas<sup>9</sup> [quas ego indignus recolo]<sup>3</sup> animam meam ab inferni penis libera: et per sanctam crucem tuam salua me et custodi: et illuc perduc<sup>10</sup> me miserum peccatorem<sup>11</sup> quo perduxisti latronem tecum crucifixum [te confitentem]<sup>3</sup>. Qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto viuus et regnas Deus. Per omnia secula seculorum.

¶ *Sequitur oratio sancti Bernardini confessoris ordinis minorum*<sup>12</sup>.  
[*de dulcissimo nomine Jesu* add *Y.*]

**O**BONE JESU. O dulcis Jesu. O Jesu, Fili Marie virginis, plenus misericordia et veritate<sup>13</sup>. O dulcis Jesu, miserere mei secundum magnam misericordiam tuam. O benigne Jesu, te deprecor<sup>14</sup> per illum sanguinem preciosum, quem pro nobis peccatoribus effundere dignatus es in ara crucis, vt abijcias omnes iniquitates meas: et ne despicias [me]<sup>15</sup> humiliter te petentem: et hoc nomen tuum sanctissimum Jesum<sup>16</sup> inuocantem. Hoc nomen Jesus nomen dulce est: hoc nomen Jesus nomen salutare est. Quid enim est Jesus, nisi Saluator? O bone Jesu, qui me creasti et redemisti tuo precioso sanguine<sup>17</sup> ne permittas me damnari, quem tu ex nichilo creasti. O bone Jesu Christe<sup>18</sup>, ne perdat

<sup>1</sup> *Sar.* omits 'Credo' here, and prescribes it (with 'Pater' and 'Aue') after the final collect.

<sup>2</sup> omit 17.

<sup>3</sup> add 17.

<sup>4</sup> ligari: 17.

<sup>5</sup> sicut: 17.

<sup>6</sup> atque conspectibus Anne et Cayphe et Pylaty et Herodis indecenter: 17.

<sup>7</sup> vexari et conspui: *Sar.*, *Ebor.* 17; et conspui: *Y.*

<sup>8</sup> spini†: 36.

<sup>9</sup> *The order of words varies in 17.*

<sup>10</sup> tuam libera me de penis inferni et perduc: 17.

<sup>11</sup> omit *Y.*

<sup>12</sup> Woodcut (1½ in. x 1 in.) of St Bernardine with two mitres on the ground. A closed book in his left hand. His right hand lifts up a roundel (or a host) flaming, with the letters ihs inscribed. *Sar.* ascribes the devotion 'O bone Jesu' to St Bernard.

<sup>13</sup> misericordie et veritatis: 55.

<sup>15</sup> add 'me': 55.

<sup>17</sup> tuo (repeated): *Sar.*

<sup>14</sup> deprecor te: 55.

<sup>16</sup> sanctissimum Jesus: *Ebor.* 17, *Y.*; *Sar.* 36-7.

<sup>18</sup> omit. 'Christe': 17, *Y.* 55.



me iniquitas mea, quem fecit et creauit<sup>1</sup> omnipotens bonitas tua. O bone Jesu, recognosce quod tuum est in me: et absterge quod alienum est a me. O bone Jesu, miserere mei, dum tempus est miserendi: ne perdas me in tempore tui tremendi iudicij. O bone Jesu, si merui ego miser peccator de vera tua iustitia penam eternam pro peccatis meis grauissimis: adhuc appello confusus de tua iustitia vera ad tuam misericordiam ineffabilem vtique misereberis mei, vt pius Pater et misericors Dominus. O bone Jesu, que enim vtilitas in sanguine meo: dum descendero in corruptionem eternam. Non enim mortui laudabunt te: neque omnes qui descendunt in infernum. O misericordissime Jesu, miserere mei. O dulcissime Jesu, libera me. O pijssime Jesu, propicius esto michi peccatori. O Jesu, admitte me miserum peccatorem inter numerum electorum tuorum. O Jesu, salus in te sperantium. O Jesu, salus in te credentium, miserere mei. O Jesu, dulcis remissio omnium peccatorum meorum. O Jesu, Fili virginis Marie, infunde in me gratiam tuam, sapientiam, charitatem, castitatem<sup>2</sup> ac humilitatem, ac etiam in omnibus aduersitatibus meis patientiam sanctam, vt possim te perfecte diligere, et in te gloriari ac delectari in secula seculorum. Amen.

[Pater noster qui es in celis.

Aue Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum: benedicta tu in mulieribus: et benedictus fructus ventris tui Jesus Christus. Amen.

Benedicamus Domino.

Deo gratias.]<sup>3</sup>

[*De dulcissimo nomine Jesu. Antiphona.*]<sup>4</sup>

O REX gloriose<sup>5</sup> inter sanctos tuos, qui semper<sup>6</sup> es laudabilis, et tamen ineffabilis: tu in nobis es, Domine, et nomen sanctum tuum inuocatum est super nos: ne derelinquas nos, Domine Deus noster: vt in die iudicij nos collocare digneris inter electos tuos, Rex benedice.

V. Sit nomen Domini benedictum.

R. Ex hoc nunc et vsque in seculum.

[Oremus.]

*Oratio.*

Deus, qui gloriosum<sup>7</sup> nomen Jesu Christi, vnigeniti Filij tui fecisti fidelibus tuis summo suauitatis affectu mirabile<sup>8</sup>: et malignis spiritibus tremendum atque terribile: concede propicius, vt omnes qui hoc nomen<sup>9</sup> deuote venerantur in terris: sancte consolationis dulcedinem in presenti percipiant: et in futuro gaudium exultationis et interminabilis iubilationis obtineant. Per eundem Christum<sup>10</sup> Dominum

<sup>1</sup> omit. 'et creauit': 55.

<sup>2</sup> omit. 55.

<sup>3</sup> This conclusion is in *Sar.* and the like is indicated in *Ebor.* 17.

<sup>4</sup> This title is given in *Sar.* 36-7, and in *Ebor.* 17.

<sup>5</sup> glorie: 55.

<sup>7</sup> gloriosissimum: 17, Y.

<sup>9</sup> nomen Jesu: 17; Y.; 55; *Sar.* 36-7.

<sup>6</sup> super†: 55.

<sup>8</sup> amabile; 55.

<sup>10</sup> Per Christum: 55.

[nostrum Jesum Christum, Filium tuum: qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.]

[Pater noster. Ave Maria.]

**S**anctifica me, Domine Jesu Christe, signaculo tue sancte crucis, vt fiat michi obstaculum contra seua iacula inimicorum meorum visibilium et inuisibilium: defende me, Jesu Christe, pastor bone, hodie et omni tempore ab omni nociua passione: ab omni angustia et tribulatione: et ab omnibus vitijs preteritis, presentibus, et futuris: per signum sancte crucis: et per inestimabile precium <sup>1</sup>iusti et preciosi sanguinis tui in <sup>1</sup>quo misericorditer me redemisti. Qui vivis et regnas Deus Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.<sup>2</sup>

[C] *Four deuoute prayers in englysshe*<sup>3</sup>.

(I.)

to Jesu<sup>4</sup>.]

**O** glorious Jesu, o mekest Jesu, o moost swetest Jesu, I praye the that I may haue true confessyon contrycyon and satisfaction or I dye, and that I may se and receyue thy holy body God man<sup>5</sup> Sauyour of all &<sup>6</sup> mankynde, Cryst Jesu without synne, and that thou wylt, my Lorde God, forgyue me all my synnes for thy glorious woundes and passyon<sup>7</sup>, and that I may ende my lyfe in the true fayth of holy churche, and in perfyte loue and charyte with all myn<sup>8</sup> euen crysten, as thy creature, and I commend my soule in to thy holy handes through the glorious helpe of thy blessyd moder<sup>9</sup> [of mercy our lady saynt Mary]<sup>10</sup> and of all the holy company of heuen.

The holy body of Cryste Jesu be my saluacyon of body and soule. [Amen<sup>10</sup>.]

The glorious blode of Cryste Jesu brynge my soule and body vnto<sup>11</sup> euerlastyng blysse. [Amen<sup>10</sup>.]

I crye God mercy, I cry God mercy, I cry God mercy. welcome my Maker: welcome my Redeemer: welcome my Sauyour. I crye the mercy with herte contryte for<sup>12</sup> my grete vnkyndnesse that I haue had to<sup>13</sup> the.

<sup>1-4</sup> omit. Y., Sar.

<sup>2</sup> Here Y proceeds with 'Deus, qui sanctorum angelorum' and other suffrages of angels and saints.

<sup>3</sup> This title is borrowed from the *Tabula* of contents to the York book. These prayers do not appear in Sar. 1535-6, but they occur in the Sarum *Horae* of 1494, 1506, 1508, and 1555 (Wayland). They are found also in Y. fo. 84<sup>b</sup>. The Marian books (1555) have only the first: 'A prayer in Englyshe.'

<sup>4</sup> add Sar.

<sup>5</sup> and man: Sar. 8, Y. 32, 55.

<sup>6</sup> all &: perhaps a misprint for 'alle.'

<sup>7</sup> omit 'and passyon,' Sar. 1508; wounde† & passyon: Y.

<sup>8</sup> et charite of myn: Y.; and charyte with almyna, †: 32.

<sup>9</sup> the† blessed mother: 32; glorious mother Mary: 55.

<sup>10</sup> add Y.

<sup>11</sup> in the: 32.

<sup>12</sup> of: Y. 55.

<sup>13</sup> vnto: 55.

## (II.)

[*An other prayer in englysshe.*]<sup>1</sup>

O The moost swetest Spouse of my soule Cryst Jesu<sup>2</sup>, desyrynge hertely euer more to be with the in mynde and wyll, and to let none erthly thyng to be so nere my herte as thou Jesu. And that I drede not for to goo to the, Jesu, and that I may euermore saye to the with a gladde chere, my Sauour Cryst Jesu<sup>3</sup>. I beseche the hertely to<sup>4</sup> take me synner to thy grete mercy and grace, for I loue the with all myne herte, with all my mynde, and with all my myght, and nothyng so moche in erthe nor aboue erthe as I do the, my swete lord Jesu Cryst<sup>5</sup>, and for that I haue not loued the and worshypped the aboue all thyng as my lorde and sauour Cryst Jesu. I beseche the, with mekenesse and herte contryte, of mercy and forgyuenes of mi grete vnkindnesse, for the grete loue that thou shewed<sup>6</sup> for me and all mankynde, what tyme thou offred vp<sup>7</sup> thy glorious body, God and man,<sup>8</sup> vnto the crosse<sup>9</sup> there to be crucified and wounded, and out of thy herte rennyng<sup>10</sup> plentuously blode and water for the redempeyon of me and all mankynde, and thus hauynge<sup>11</sup> remembraunce stedfastly in my herte of the my sauour Cryst Jesu.

I doubte not but thou wyll be full nere me and comforte me bothe bodyly and ghostly with thy glorious presense, and at the last brynge me to thyn euerlastynge blysse, the whiche neuer shall haue ende. Amen.

## (III.)

¶ *Oratio ad sanctissimam Trinitatem*<sup>12</sup>.

O BLESSYD TRYNITE, the<sup>13</sup> Fader, the<sup>13</sup> Sonne, and the<sup>13</sup> holy Ghost thre persones and one God, I byleue with myn herte and confesse with my mouth all that holy churche beleueth and holdeth of the,<sup>14</sup> asmoche as a good catholyke<sup>15</sup> and crysten man ought to do<sup>16</sup> and byleue of the, and I proteste here before thy maieste that I wyll lyue and dye in this fayth, and contynue al my lyfe: and I knowledge the my God, Fader<sup>17</sup> and Maker of all the worlde. And I<sup>18</sup> thy poore creature subiecte and seruaunt do make<sup>19</sup> to the fayth and homage of my body

<sup>1</sup> add Y.<sup>2</sup> Cryst. † Jesu : 36.<sup>3</sup> my lord, my God, my souerain sauour, criste Jesu : *Sar.* 1508.<sup>4</sup> omit 32.<sup>5</sup> crist Jesu : *Sar.* 8.<sup>6</sup> sheddest : *Sar.* 8.<sup>7</sup> offreddest : *Sar.* 8; offred : Y.<sup>8-9</sup> omit 32.<sup>10</sup> and ('et' Y) vnto thy glorious hert a sharp spere, ther rennyng out : *Sar.* 8, Y; and out of thy hert run : 32.<sup>11</sup> takynge : 32.<sup>12</sup> A prayer to the blessyd Trinite : Y.<sup>13</sup> omit. 'the' : *Sar.* 8, Y.<sup>14</sup> add. 'and' : *Sar.* 8, Y.<sup>15</sup> catolyke : Y.<sup>16</sup> fele : *Sar.* 8, Y.<sup>17</sup> god fader : Y; good fader : *Sar.* 8.<sup>18</sup> world, and one : *Sar.* 8; worlde, I : 32.<sup>19</sup> seruaunte. And make : *Sar.* 8, Y.

and of my soule whiche I holde of the nobly, as my souerayn Lorde and God, with all the goodes naturall, spyrytuall, and temporall: that I haue, and that euer I hade, and that I entende to haue of the in this worlde here, and in that other, and with al my herte I cry the mercy<sup>1</sup> and thanke the, and in signe of the† cognysaunce<sup>2</sup> and knowledge I paye to the this lytell trybute on mornynge and on euenyng; that is<sup>3</sup>, that I adoure and worshypp the with herte [and]<sup>4</sup> mouthe, in fayth, in hope, and in charyte, with this lytell orayson<sup>5</sup> and prayer, which all onely<sup>6</sup> apperteyneth to thy blessed maieste synory<sup>7</sup> and diuynyte; and humbly I require the of the<sup>8</sup> thre thynges.

The fyrst is mercy and forgyuenes of as many euylles and vylayn<sup>9</sup> synnes as I haue done and commysed in tyme passed agaynst thy wyll.

The seconde it<sup>10</sup> plase the to gyue me grace that I may serue the and accomplysse<sup>11</sup> thy commaundementes without to<sup>12</sup> tourne and falle<sup>13</sup> in to deedly synne.

The thyrde is, that at my dethe and my<sup>14</sup> grete nede thou [wylt]<sup>14</sup> socoure me and gyue me grace that I<sup>15</sup> haue remembraunce of thy<sup>16</sup> blessyd passyon, and contrycyon of my synnes, and that I may dye in this<sup>17</sup> holy fayth and fynably may come to the glory eternall with all the sayntes of heuen. Amen.

## (IV.)

[*'An other prayer to our Lorde.'*—Y.]

**O** Lorde God almygty, all seyng, all thynges knowyng, wysdoome and sapyence of all. I poore synner make this daye in despyte of the fende<sup>18</sup> of hell protestacyon that yf by auenture ony temptacyon, decepcyon, or varyacyon comyng by sorowe, payne or sekenesse, or by<sup>19</sup> ony feblenesse of body, or by<sup>19</sup> ony other occasyon what someuer it be, I fall or declyne in peryll of my soule, or preiudyce of my helthe, or in errorr of the holy fayth catholyke, in which I was regenerate in the holy font of baptym:

Lord God in good mynde, in which I holde me now by thy grace, wherfore with all my herte I thanke the, of<sup>20</sup> that erreure<sup>21</sup> wyth my power I resiste, and here renounce, and of the same one confesse in

<sup>1</sup> I remercyte: *Sar.* 8, 32.

<sup>2</sup> of recognisaunce: *Sar.* 8, Y.

<sup>4</sup> add. *Sar.*, Y. 32.

<sup>6</sup> al onely: Y.; alonly: 32; omit 'onely': *Sar.* 8.

<sup>7</sup> seigneury: Y.; segniorie: 32; maiste† sygnory: 36.

<sup>8</sup> omitt. Y. 32, 36.

<sup>10</sup> that it: 32; omit 'it': *Sar.* 8.

<sup>12</sup> omit 32.

<sup>14</sup> add Y.

<sup>17</sup> thyn: *Sar.* 8.

<sup>20</sup> to: Y.; omit 'of': *Sar.* 8.

<sup>3</sup> thys: *Sar.* 8.

<sup>5</sup> oryson: Y.; orison: 32.

<sup>9</sup> vylanye: Y; villeine: 32.

<sup>11</sup> fulfille: *Sar.* 8.

<sup>13</sup> to renue ne to falle: *Sar.* 8; to renne ne to fal: Y.

<sup>16</sup> the: 32.

<sup>19-19</sup> omit 32.

<sup>21</sup> Here a leaf (J 8.) is lost from the Lincoln copy of York *Horae*, 1536. The omitted passage is restored from *Sarum* 1508 and Y.



protestyng that I wyll lyue and deye in the fayth of holy chirch our moder, and thine espouse.

And in<sup>1</sup> wytnesse of this confession and protestacyon, and in the<sup>1</sup> despyte of the fend of hell, I offre to the the Credo, in whyche all veryte and trouthe is conteyned.

And to the I recommaunde<sup>2</sup> my soule, my feythe, my lyf and my dethe. Amen.

Credo in Deum [Patrem omnipotentem, creatorem celi et terre.

Et in Jesum Christum filium eius vnicum Dominum nostrum. Qui conceptus est de Spiritu sancto: natus ex Maria virgine. Passus sub Pontio Pylato, crucifixus, mortuus et sepultus. Descendit ad inferna: tertia die resurrexit a mortuis. Ascendit ad celos: sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis. Inde venturus est iudicare viuos et mortuos.

Credo in Spiritum sanctum: sanctam ecclesiam catholicam. Sanctorum comunionem. Remissionem peccatorum. Carnis resurrectionem. Vitam eternam. Amen.]

<sup>3</sup>[¶ *A deuout blesyng. A gode belsyng† whan ye goe forth on a message or iournay† say thys.*]

**B**enedicat me imperialis maiestas: protegat me regalis diuinitas: custodiat me sempiterna deitas: foueat me gloriosa<sup>4</sup> vnitas: defendat me immensa Trinitas, dirigat me inestimabilis bonitas: regat me potentia Patris: viuificet me sapientia Filij: illuminet me virtus Spiritus sancti: alpha, et oo, Deus et homo: sit ista benedictio michi salus et protectio nunc et<sup>5</sup> in eternum. Amen.

Pater noster qui es in celis.

Aue Maria, gratia plena<sup>3</sup>.

[¶ *Incipiunt septem psalmi penitenciales.—Y.*]

#### SEPTEM PSALMI PENITENTIALES, CUM LETANIA.

<sup>6</sup>**G**ENTI peccatrici populo pleno peccatis miserere Domine Deus.  
*Versus.* Esto placabilis super nequitia populi tui. Domine Deus.  
*Antiphona.* Ne reminiscaris, Domine.

<sup>1</sup> omit 32.

<sup>2</sup> commende: 32.

<sup>3-3</sup> This prayer *Benedicat me imperialis* is mentioned in the *Tabula* of the Lincoln copy of 36 as occurring at this point. As it is missing in that unique volume we print it here from ed. 1517 *Ebor.* where however it was introduced at an earlier point in the volume (sig. C. ii.). The same prayer is also found in *Horae Sar.* 1494, 1523, 1535-6, where it is introduced in these terms: '¶ *A gode blesyng. whan ye goo forth on a message or iournay say thus, Benedicat me imperialis...*' f. 6<sup>b</sup>. '*A deuoute blesyng*' (f. 73<sup>b</sup>), *Tabula* f. 187. Cf. *Sar.* 23.

<sup>4</sup> gloria†: 17.

<sup>5</sup> omit 'nunc et': 17.

<sup>6</sup> The page here lost contained doubtless a woodcut of Bathsheba bathing herself, with, probably, a quatrain of the same purport as the *Sarum* 1535-6 couplet,

“¶ *Dauid was enamoured of Bersabee  
In the bathe whan he her se.”*

(The words “Genti...Domine Deus,” are apparently no part of the service, but a private ejaculation.)



*Psalmus [vi. in quo monet peccatorem ad penitentiam timore  
futuri iudicii].*

<sup>1\*</sup> Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me: neque in ira tua corripas me.

\* Sig. K.  
misprin  
'Ebrorum

Miserere mei, Domine, quoniam infirmus...&c. Br. i. 731.

Gloria Patri. Sicut erat.

*Psalmus [xxxij. in quo agitur de penitentia. Vox prophete].*

<sup>2</sup> Beati quorum remisse sunt iniquitates: et quorum tecta sunt peccata.

Beatus vir cui non imputauit...&c. Br. i. 762.

Gloria Patri. Sicut.

*Psalmus [xxxviij. in quo docetur fidelis penitens memoriam peccatorum  
habere: vt lugeat preterita: et caueat futura].*

<sup>3</sup> Domine, ne in furore tuo arguas me: neque in ira tua corripas me.  
Quoniam sagitte tue...&c. Br. i. 771.

Gloria Patri. Sicut.

*Psalmus [i. in quo propheta monet peccatorem exemplo sui ad  
penitentiam].*

<sup>4</sup> Miserere mei Deus: secundum magnam misericordiam tuam.  
Et secundum multitudinem miserationum...&c. Br. i. 788.

Gloria Patri. Sicut.

<sup>1</sup> The initial "D" contains a representation of David and his harp, an angel appearing to him. Woodcut,  $\frac{1}{10} \times \frac{7}{8}$  in.

<sup>2</sup> Woodcut ( $2\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$  in.) of the death of Uriah. His horse has fallen: his sword point is broken, 'Adulterium causat homicidium' on tablet. Below are the lines,

¶ Dauid the better to do his entent  
Sent Urye to his copitayn, Joab.  
In the vaward he bade he sholde be sent  
Where Amons sones slewe him before Raab.

<sup>3</sup> Woodcut ( $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$  in.). Visit of Nathan to David: "Initium salutis, notitia peccati" on label. Below are the lines,

¶ For this cruell synne Nathan the prophete  
Dauid reproued, and blamed gretely,  
Wherfore Dauid, with heynesse replete,  
Tenderly wepyng cryed Peccau.

<sup>4</sup> Woodcut ( $2\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$  in.). David and the destroying angel, who bears sword, skull and scourge. "Ego sum qui peccau" on label. Below are the lines,

¶ Kyng Dauid by Gad was admonished  
For to chuse warre, famyn, or pestylence.  
Pestilence he chace, wherby there perished  
Lxx. M. for his offence.

*Psalmus* [.ci. in quo monet omnes aduertere suam miseriam : et petere  
a Deo misericordiam].

<sup>1</sup> Domine, exaudi orationem meam : et clamor meus ad te veniat.  
Non auertas faciem tuam...&c. *Br.* i. 852.  
Gloria Patri. Sicut.

*Psalmus* [.cxxxix. in quo monet ad penitentiam].

<sup>2</sup> De profundis clamaui ad te, Domine : Domine, exaudi vocem meam.  
Fiant aures tue intendentes...&c. *Br.* i. 907.  
Gloria Patri. Sicut<sup>3</sup>.

*Psalmus* [.cxliij. in quo monet ad penitentiam et orationem].

<sup>4</sup> Domine exaudi orationem meam, auribus percipe obsecrationem  
meam, in veritate tua : exaudi me in tua iustitia.  
Et non intres in iudicium...&c. Spiritus tuus bonus...nomen tuum,  
Domine : \*viuificabis me...&c....seruus tuus sum. *Br.* i. 919.  
Gloria Patri et Filio : et Spiritui sancto.  
Sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper : et in secula seculorum.  
Amen.

<sup>5</sup> *Antiphona.* Ne reminiscaris, Domine, delicta nostra vel parentum  
nostrorum, neque vindictam sumas de peccatis nostris.

<sup>1</sup> Woodcut ( $2\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$  in.). David offers a lamb on an altar, standing on  
columns, in the threshing-floor. "Converti ad Dominum certissima vita est" on  
label. Below is

[C] Dauyd for his synne gretely dyde complayne,  
Feryng the hate of God for his vyce,  
Upon Dareuna an hye mountayne  
By counsell of Gad he dyde sacryfice.

'Dareuna,' the hill of 'Areuna'—the Vulgate form of Ornan, or Araunah, in  
3 *Regum* xxiv.

<sup>2</sup> Woodcut ( $2\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$  in.). Bathsheba (with aureole) presents Solomon, who wears  
his hair long, and kneels to David. "Quod iustum est petite" on label. Beneath  
are the lines,

[C] By counsell of the prophete Nathan  
Dauyd promise† vnto Bersabee  
After his regne that her sone than  
Solomon sholde be kynge ouer Judee.

<sup>3</sup> 'George Watte' has written his signature and merchant's mark in the lower  
margin of this page in the Lincoln copy, 1536.

<sup>4</sup> Woodcut ( $2\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$  in.). David gives the crown to Solomon with a charge to  
build the temple. "Templum Dei sanctum est, quod vos estis" on label. Below  
are the lines,

[C] Dauyd, seyng his last ende dyde come,  
Called his counsell, and seyde vnto them,  
To Salomon my sone I leue my kyndome†  
Whiche shall buylde the temple of Jerusalem.

<sup>5</sup> Here the Litany begins in '*Trin.*' (the xv<sup>th</sup> cent. York Psalter at Cambridge,  
*Trin.* Coll. Cam. MS. O. 3. 10).

¶ *Sequitur letania*<sup>1</sup>.

K Yrie eleyson.  
Christe eleyson.  
<sup>2</sup> Kyrie eleyson<sup>3</sup>.

*Pater de celis Deus, miserere nobis.*

*Fili*<sup>4</sup>, redemptor mundi Deus. Miserere nobis.

*Spiritus sancte Deus. Miserere nobis.*

*Sancta Trinitas vnus Deus. Mesere† nobis.*

*Sancta Maria* Ora pro nobis.

*Sancta Dei genitrix* ora.

*Sancta virgo virgiginum†* ora.

*Sancte Michael* ora.

*Sancte Gabriel* ora.

*Sancte Raphael* ora.

*Omnes sancti angeli et archangeli*<sup>5</sup> orate

*Omnes sancti beatorum spirituum ordines* orate

*Sancte Johannes baptista* ora

*Omnes sancti patriarche et prophete* orate<sup>7</sup>

*Sancte Petre*<sup>8</sup> ora

*Sancte Paule* ora

*Sancte Andrea* ora

*Sancte Jacobe* ora

*Sancte Johannes* ora

*Sancte Thoma* ora

*Sancte Jacobe* ora

*Sancte Philippe* ora

*Sancte Bartholomee*<sup>10</sup> ora

*Sancte Mathee* ora

*Sancte Symon* ora

*Sancte Iuda*<sup>11</sup> ora

*Sancte Mathia* ora

*Sancte Barnaba* ora

*Sancte Marce* ora

*Sancte Luca* ora

*Sancte Marcialis* ora

*Sancte Timothee*<sup>12</sup> ora

*Omnes sancti apostoli et euangeliste* ora te pro nobis]

*Omnes sancti discipuli Domini* ora[te pro nobis]

<sup>1</sup> *Letania*: 17, 32; omit '*Sequitur*.' ¶ *Letanie sanctorum*: Y.

<sup>2-3</sup> Xpe audi nos: *Trin.* (lf. 108).

<sup>4</sup> Filii†: 17.

<sup>5</sup> add '*Dei*': 32.

<sup>6-7</sup> *Brev. Ebor.* 1493 omits. (32 reads *Omnes sancte†*.)

<sup>8</sup> See *Petre* or. See *Petre* or.: *Trin.* (Presumably derived from St Peter's, York.)

<sup>9-10</sup> *Sar.*, 32 have these names in a different order. Bartholomee†: 32.

<sup>11</sup> Thadee: 32 (with *Sar.*).

<sup>12</sup> Timothee: 17, Y.

<sup>1</sup> Omnes sancti innocentes <sup>2</sup>	ora[te pro nobis]
Sancte Stephane	ora
Sancte Line	ora
Sancte Clete	ora
Sancte Clemens	ora
<sup>3</sup> Sancte Corneli <sup>4</sup>	ora
Sancte Cypriane <sup>5</sup>	ora
Sancte Sixte <sup>6</sup>	ora
Sancte Thoma <sup>7</sup>	ora
Sancte Laurenti	ora
Sancte Vincenti	ora
Sancte Grisogone <sup>8</sup>	ora
Sancte Fabiane	ora
Sancte Sebastiane	ora
Sancte Christofore	ora
Sancte Georgi	ora
Sancte Dionysi <sup>9</sup> cum socijs tuis	ora
Sancte Maurici cum socijs tuis	ora
Sancte Eustachi <sup>10</sup> cum socijs tuis	ora
Sancte Blasi	ora
Sancti Johannes et Paule	orate
Sancti Cosma et Damiane	orate
Sancti Marcelline et Petre <sup>11</sup>	orate
Sancte Albine <sup>12</sup>	ora
Sancte Oswalde	ora
Sancte Edmunde	ora
Omnes Sancti martyres	ora[te pro nobis]
Sancte Silvester	ora
Sancte Leo <sup>13</sup>	ora

<sup>1</sup> 'Omnes sancti innocentes orate pro nobis.' Here the earliest known fragment of a printed York *Horae* (Bagford frag. B. Mus. 463, h. 1, n<sup>o</sup>. 22) begins. The book is attributed to the Press of Ri. Pynson, Lond. cir. 1510. It consists of leaves 1—5, 8 of sheet P. in 32<sup>mo</sup>, measuring  $1\frac{7}{8} \times 1\frac{3}{8}$  inches exclusive of margin. This fragment has been collated for us by Miss Celia Lewis. I mark the variants here "B." from this Bagford fragment in the British Museum. <sup>1-2</sup> omit 32.

<sup>3</sup> From this point the names in the 16<sup>mo</sup> of 1532 are different and differently arranged thus (as also in the Sarum list):—'Cipriane, laurenti, vincenti, cosma, damiane, fabiane, sebastiane, prime, feliciane, thoma, erasme, edmund, Christofore, Georgi, blasi, Adriane, dionisi cum sociis tuis, maurici cum sociis, gereon [Eustachi: Sar.] cum sociis, Omnes sancti martires.' Durham *Horae* includes Elphege, & Oswyne.

<sup>4</sup> Sancte Sixte...Corneli, Cipriane: 32.

<sup>5</sup> Cipriane: B., 32.

<sup>6</sup> Syxte: Trin.

<sup>7</sup> omit 'S. Thoma': 32.

<sup>8</sup> Instead of Chrysogonus 32 has Sancte Cosma...Sancte Damiane.

<sup>9</sup> Dyonisi: Y., 17; Dionisi: W. (i.e. Mrs Willett's MS.).

<sup>10</sup> Eustachij: B., W.

<sup>11</sup> Marcellini et Petri†: B.

<sup>12</sup> Albiae: 36. Albane: B., Steeple Ashton MS., 17, Y. Harl. 07. W., Trin.

<sup>13</sup> Leone†: B. After S. Leo, the Confessors are thus arranged in 1532 much as in Sar.—'hieronime, Augustine, Ambrosi, gregori, wilhelme [Gregori: bis, instead Sar.], Isidore, Juliane, gildarde, medarde, albine, swithune, berine, lamberte, martine, Anthoni, nicolae, leonarde, erkenwalde, edmund, benedicte [Dunstane add. Sar.], Cuthberte.'

Sancte Gregori <sup>1</sup>	ora
Sancte Ambrosi	ora
Sancte Martine	ora
Sancte Nicolae <sup>2</sup>	ora
Sancte Basili <sup>3</sup>	ora
Sancte Germane <sup>4</sup>	ora
Sancte Augustine	ora
Sancte Pauline <sup>5</sup>	ora
Sancte Johannes	ora
Sancte Wilfride	ora
Sancte Guilhelmi <sup>6</sup>	ora
Sancte Cuthberte	ora
Sancte Swithune <sup>7</sup>	ora
Sancte Sampson	ora
Sancte Edmund	ora
Sancte Hieronime <sup>8</sup>	ora
Sancte Eadwarde <sup>9</sup>	ora
Sancte Leonarde	ora
Sancte Benedicte	ora
Sancte Egidi	ora
Sancte Anthoni	ora
Sancte Hylari[on] <sup>10</sup>	ora
Omnes sancti confessores	ora[te pro nobis]
Omnes sancti monachi et heremite <sup>11</sup>	orate [pro nobis]
<sup>12</sup> Sancta Anna	ora
Sancta Maria Magdalena <sup>13</sup>	ora
[‘Sancta Martha’: <i>inserted. M.</i> ]	
Sancta Maria egyptiaca	ora
Sancta Pelagia <sup>14</sup>	ora
Sancta Barbara <sup>15</sup>	ora

*M.* (the York Minster MS. 16 G. 5) has the names in this order:—‘Willelme, Wilfride, Cuthberte, Swithune, Sampson, Edmund, Jeronime, Leonardi [‘Francisse’ *inserted*] &c.

<sup>1</sup> Gregorij: *B.*                      <sup>2</sup> Nicholae: 17, *Y., W., Trin.*                      <sup>3</sup> basili†: *B.*

<sup>4</sup> romane†: *B.*                      <sup>5</sup> paulini†: *B.*

<sup>6</sup> Willelme: *Brev. 1493, Y. Horae 1517; Willelme: Steeple Ashton M.S. York litany, and 07; Willelme: B. 33, W.; Willmo: Trin.*

<sup>7</sup> Swythune: *W.*; Swithune: 1517, *Y.*

<sup>8</sup> Hieronyme: 1517, *Y.*; Jeronime: *W., M., Trin.*

<sup>9</sup> edwarde: 1517, *Y., W., Trin.*

<sup>10</sup> hylarion: *Brev. Horae 1517, Y.*; Hylari: *B.* Antoni, Hylarion: *W.*, Antoni, Hylarion: *M., Trin.* The *Durham Horae* (MS. Harl. 1864) include SS. Basil, Karleif and Godric. Also Macnar (of Aberdeen), Aidan, Ceada and Beda.

<sup>11</sup> hermite: 1517.

<sup>12</sup> The Holy Women are thus arranged in 32: maria magdalena, maria egyptiaca, anna, Katherina, margareta, perpetua, felicitas, Genovefa, praxeda, acatistica, Petronella, Sotharia, Prisca, Tecla, Affra, Editha, Barbara, Helena, Appollonia, Agatha, Lucia, Agnes, Christina, Cytha [‘Syna’: *Bar.*], Cecylia, Wandruda, Frederwida, Gertrudis, Othilia, Brigitta, Ursula cum solidacant (for ‘sodalibus’), Santa† Wingfortis. The places of Frederwida and Ursula are different in *Bar.*

<sup>13</sup> magdalene: *Trin.*

<sup>14</sup> pellagia: *B.*; Palagia: *W.*

<sup>15</sup> omit. ‘Barbara’: 17, *Y., W., Trin.*; add. ‘Felicitas’: *Trin., B.*



Sancta Perpetua	ora
Sancta Agatha	ora
Sancta Agnes	ora
Sancta Cecilia	ora
Sancta Lucia	ora
Sancta Anastasia	ora
Sancta Sabina <sup>1</sup>	ora
Sancta Eufemia <sup>2</sup>	ora
Sancta Fides	ora
<sup>3</sup> Sancta Spes	ora
Sancta Charitas <sup>4</sup>	ora
Sancta Katherina	ora
Sancta Marguareta† <sup>5</sup>	ora
Sancta Juliana	ora
Sancta Scolastica	ora
Sancta Petronilla <sup>6</sup>	ora
Sancta Austreberta <sup>7</sup>	ora
Sancta Hilda <sup>8</sup>	ora
Sancta Euerildis <sup>9</sup>	ora
Sancta Eteldreda <sup>10</sup>	ora
Omnes sancte <sup>11</sup> virgines	orate [pro nobis]
Omnes sancti <sup>12</sup> et sancte Dei <sup>13</sup>	orate [pro nobis]

Propicius.esto. Parce nobis, Domine.

Ab omni malo. Libera nos, Domine.

Ab insidijs diaboli<sup>14</sup>. Libera nos, Domine.

A peste superbie. Libera nos, Domine.

A carnalibus desiderijs. Libera nos, Domine.

Ab omnibus immundicijs mentis et corporis. Libera nos, Domine.

A persecutione paganorum et omnium inimicorum nostrorum. Libera nos, Domine.

Ab ira et odio et omni mala voluntate. Li[bera nos, Domine].

A ventura ira. Libera nos, Domine.

A subitanea<sup>15</sup> et eterna morte. Libera nos.

<sup>1</sup> Sabrina, Eufemia: *W.*

<sup>2</sup> Euphemia: *Brev.* 93, *Horae* 17.

<sup>3</sup> 'Caritas,' before Spes: *Brev.*, *Hor.* 17, *Y.* (Fides, Karitas, Spes, Katerina: *Trin.*)

<sup>4</sup> Charitas: *B.* (Karitas: *Trin.*); Caritas, Katerina: *W.*

<sup>5</sup> Margareta: *Brev.*, *B.*, 17, *W.*, *Trin.*

<sup>6</sup> Petronella: *W.*; Petrocinia: *Durham.*

<sup>7</sup> Austroberta: *B.*

<sup>8</sup> Hylda: *W.*

<sup>8-9</sup> *B.* omits Hilda and Everild. eufildis: *Brev.* 93, *Hor.* 17.

<sup>10</sup> etheldreda: *Br.* 93; etheldreda: *edd. et MSS.*; *Durham* includes S. Ebba.

<sup>11</sup> sancti† virgines: *B.*

<sup>12-13</sup> omit. *Br.* 93, *B.*

<sup>14</sup> dyaboli: *B.*, *Y.* The Deprecations:—The 16<sup>mo</sup> of 1532 has (like *Sarum*) a different set of these, viz.:

'Ab insidijs diaboli, A damnatione perpetua, Ab imminentibus peccatorum nostrorum periculis, Ab in[fe]stationibus demonum, ['A spiritu fornicationis' *Sar.*], Ab appetitu† inanis glorie, Ab omnibus immundicijs mentis et corporis, Ab ira et odio et omni mala voluntate, Ab immundis cogitacionibus, A cecitate cordis, A fulgore et tempestate, A subitanea et improvisa morte.'

<sup>15</sup> subita: *Brev.* 93, *Trin.*

Per misterium sancte incarnationis tue<sup>1</sup>. Li[bera nos, Domine].

[Per crucem et passionem tuam, libera.]<sup>2</sup>

Per sanctam resurrectionem tuam. Libera [nos, Domine].

Per admirabilem ascensionem tuam. Libera [nos, Domine].

Per gratiam sancti Spiritus paracliti. Libera [nos, Domine].

<sup>3</sup> A penis inferni. Libera nos, Domine.

In die iudicij. Libera nos, Domine.

Peccatores. Te rogamus<sup>4</sup>, audi nos.

Ut pacem et concordiam<sup>5</sup> nobis dones. Te rog.

Ut sanctam ecclesiam tuam regere et defensare digneris. Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut domnum<sup>6</sup> apostolicum et omnes gradus ecclesie in sancta religione conservare digneris. Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut archiepiscopum nostrum et omnem congregationem sibi commissam in sancta religione conservare digneris. Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut regibus et principibus nostris pacem et veram concordiam atque<sup>7</sup> victoriam donare digneris. Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut locum nostrum et omnes habitantes in eo visitare et consolari<sup>8</sup> digneris. Te rogamus, audi nos.

Ut omnibus benefactoribus nostris eterna dona<sup>9</sup> retribuas. Te rogamus, audi nos.

<sup>1</sup> 'Per natiuitatem tuam libera. Per sanctam circumcisionem tuam libera. Per ieiunium tuum libera. Per passionem et crucem† tuam .li. Per preciosam mortem tuam.' 32 (with Sar.).

<sup>2</sup> Per crucem et passionem tuam li[bera]. B. cum Brev. 93, Trin. (17, 36 omit., Brev. 26, 33 omit.).

<sup>3</sup> 'In hora mortis succurre nobis domine. In die iudicij libera : Peccatores' &c. 32 (with Sar.).

<sup>4</sup> rogamus†: 36.

<sup>5</sup> Ut pacem dones. te ro[gamus]. Ut misericordia tua et pietas tua nos custodiat. te rog. Ut ecclesiam tuam custodire digneris. Ut donum apostolicum et omnis† gradus ecclesie, in sancta religione conservare digneris. Te. [No mention here of the Archbishop.] Ut regi nostri† et principibus nostris pacem et veram concordiam atque victoriam donare digneris. Te rogamus. Ut episcopos et abbates nostros et omnes congregationes illis commissas in sancta religione (&c.). Ut congregationes omnium sanctorum in tuo sancto seruitio conservare digneris. Te., Ut cunctum populum Christianum (&c.), Ut animas nostras (&c.), Ut fructus terre (&c.), Ut oculos misericordie tue super nos reducere digneris. Te., Ut obsequium (&c.), Ut mentes nostras ad celestia desideria erigas, Te., Ut miseras pauperum (&c.), Ut omnibus fidelibus viuis ac defunctis requiem eternam dones. Te rogamus. Ut nos exaudire digneris. Te rogamus, audi nos. 1532.

<sup>6</sup> dompnum: Steeple Ashton, Trin.; domnum: 17, Brev. 33, 55. dōnum: 36. dominum: Brev. 93, B. The York Minster MS. 16 G. 5 has (fo. 39) the intercessions 'Ut dompnum apostolicum...regibus et principibus nostris...locum nostrum et omnes habitantes.' No Bishop or Archbishop is mentioned here; but among the suffrages later in the book (fo. 42) there is the Collect of York Use: 'Omnipotens sempiternus Deus, qui facis mirabilia m. s. p. super famulum tuum archiepiscopum nostrum' &c. (cf. Brev. i. 938).

<sup>7</sup> at: B.

<sup>8</sup> consolare: B.

<sup>9</sup> bona: B., Trin., Brev. 07, 33; Horae 17, Y.; sempiterna bona: 32.

*Ut cunctum populum christianum precioso sanguine tuo redemptum conseruare digneris. Te rogamus, audi nos.*

*Ut remissionem omnium peccatorum nostrorum nobis dones<sup>1</sup>. Te rogamus, audi nos.*

*Ut obsequium seruitutis nostre rationabile facias. Te rogamus, audi nos.*

*Ut animas nostras et parentum nostrorum ab eterna damnatione eripias. Te rogamus.*

*Ut misericordia et pietas tua nos semper custodiant<sup>2</sup>. Te rogamus, audi nos.*

*Ut aerie† temperiem<sup>3</sup> bonam nobis dones. Te rogamus, audi nos.*

*Ut fructus terre dare et conseruare digneris. Te rogamus, audi nos.*

*Ut fratribus<sup>4</sup> nostris et omnibus fidelibus infirmis sanitatem mentis et corporis donare digneris. Te ro.*

*Ut miseras pauperum et captiuorum intueri et releuare digneris. Te rogamus, audi nos.*

*Ut cunctis fidelibus defunctis requiem eternam donare digneris. Te rogamus, audi nos.*

*Ut ad gaudia eterna nos perducere digneris. Te rogamus.*

*Ut nos exaudire digneris. Te rogamus, audi nos.*

<sup>5</sup>*Fili Dei .iij.*

*Te rogamus<sup>6</sup>, audi nos.*

*Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi: parce nobis, Domine.*

*Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi. Exaudi nos, Domine.*

*Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi: miserere nobis.*

*Christe, audi nos.*

*Kyrie eleyson.*

*Christe eleyson.*

*Kyrie eleyson.*

*Pater noster [qui es in celis, sanctificetur nomen tuum. Adueniat regnum tuum. Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in celo et in terra. Panem nostrum quotidianum da nobis hodie. Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris].*

*Et ne nos [inducas in tentationem].<sup>7</sup>*

*Sed libera [nos a malo. Amen.]*

*Peccauimus, Domine<sup>8</sup>, cum patribus nostris.*

*Iniuste egimus, iniquitatem fecimus.*

<sup>1</sup> donare digneris: *Trin.*, *Brev.* 93. Here *B.* (the Bagford frag.) is defective.

<sup>2</sup> custodiat: *Brev.* 93; *Hor.* 17, *Y.*

<sup>3</sup> aeris: *Brev.* 07, 33 (*Brev.* 93 omits the entire supplication), *Hor.* 17, *Y.*

<sup>4</sup> 'fratribus' is misprinted fructibus in 36.

<sup>5</sup> Fili Dei te rog. ter: *Brev.* 55 (93 &c. omit. 'ter'). See *Br.* i. 936, n.<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> omit. 'nos': 1517, *Y.*

<sup>7</sup> Here 32 inserts (with *Sar.*):

'Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam.

Et salutare tuum da nobis.

Et veniat super nos misericordia tua, Domine,

Salutare tuum, secundum eloquium tuum.'

<sup>8</sup> omit 'Domine': 32.

Domine, non secundum peccata nostra facias nobis.

Neque secundum iniquitates nostras retribuas nobis.

<sup>1</sup>Ne memineris<sup>2</sup> iniquitatumstrarum antiquarum.

Cito anticipent nos misericordie tue, quia pauperes facti sumus nos<sup>3</sup> nimis.

Adiuua nos, Deus salutaris noster.

Et propter gloriam nominis tui, Domine, libera nos, et propitius esto peccatis nostris propter nomen sanctum<sup>4</sup> tuum.

Memor esto congregationis tue.

Quam possedisti ab initio.

Sacerdotes tui induantur iusticiam<sup>5</sup>.

Et sancti tui exultent.

Domine, saluum fac regem.

Et<sup>6</sup> exaudi nos in die qua inuocauerimus te.

Saluum fac populum tuum, Domine: et benedic hereditati<sup>7</sup> tue.

Et rege eos, et extolle illos, vsque in eternum.

Exurge, Domine, adiuua nos.

Et libera nos, propter nomen tuum.

Domine, Deus virtutum, conuerte nos.

Et ostende faciem tuam et salui erimus.

Domine, exaudi orationem meam.

Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

[Oremus.]<sup>8</sup>

### Oratio.

Deus, cui proprium est misereri<sup>9</sup> semper et parcere, suscipe deprecationem nostram: vt quos delictorum catena constringit: miseratio tue pietatis absoluat. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

<sup>10</sup>[Benedicamus Domino.]<sup>11</sup>

Deo gratias. [Oremus.]<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Here 32 has (with Sarum) 'Oremus pro cuncto populo Christiano,' &c. &c.

<sup>2</sup> add. 'Domine,': Trin., Brev. 07, 26. <sup>3</sup> omit. 'nos': 1517, Y.

<sup>4</sup> omit. Trin. <sup>5</sup> iustitia: Brev. 93. See Br. i. 937.

<sup>6</sup> Here B., the Bagford fragment, B. Mus. 463, h. 1 (Pynson, c. 1510), resumes the litany.

<sup>7</sup> hereditate†: B.

<sup>8</sup> Oremus: B. (omitting 'Oratio').

<sup>9</sup> miserere†: B. The collects in 1532 &c. are these: Deus cui. Omnis. s. D. qui facis. Deus qui charitatis. Deus a quo. Ineffabilem misericordiam tuam, quesumus, Domine, nobis clementer ostende: vt simul nos a peccatis omnibus exuas: et a penis quas pro his meremur benignus eripias. Fidelium Deus. Pietate tua quesumus...sanctis tuis nos famulos tuos et omnem populum catholicum in omni...iunctos seu omnes christianos a viciis omnibus purga; virtutes†...repelle, amicis et inimicis charitatem largire, et omnibus fidelibus...concede. Per Dominum†. [Cf. Missale Sar. 879\*, and, more closely, Brev. Sar. ii. 255.] Then, Per horum omnium sanctorum angelorum, &c. Followed by Evensong of the Dead.

<sup>10-11</sup> omit. Trin., B., 17.

<sup>12</sup> add 'Oremus': B.

[Oratio.]

**D**eus in te sperantium fortitudo, adesto propicius inuocationibus<sup>1</sup> nostris, et quia sine te nichil potest mortalis infirmitas: presta auxilium gratie tue, vt in exequendis mandatis tuis et voluntate tibi et actione placeamus. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

[Oratio.]<sup>2</sup>

**P**rotector in te sperantium Deus, sine quo nichil est validum, nichil sanctum: multiplica super nos misericordiam tuam, vt te rectore, te duce, sic transeamus per bona temporalia, vt non amittamus eterna. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

Oratio.

**D**eus, cui omne cor patet, et omnis voluntas loquitur, et cui<sup>3</sup> nullum latet secretum: purifica per infusionem sancti Spiritus cogitationes cordis nostri: vt te perfecte<sup>4</sup> diligere et digne laudare mereamur.

[Oratio.]

**O**mnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui facis mirabilia magna solus: pre-tende super famulum tuum archiepiscopum nostrum, et super [cunctam] congregationem illi commissam, spiritum cuncta<sup>5</sup> gratie salutaris, et, vt in veritate tibi complacent, perpetuum eis rorem benedictionis infunde.

[Oratio.]

**D**eus, qui charitatis dona per gratiam sancti Spiritus tuorum cordibus fidelium infundisti<sup>6</sup> da famulis et famulabus tuis, pro quibus tuam deprecamur clementiam, salutem mentis et corporis, vt te tota virtute diligant, et que tibi placita sunt tota dilectione perficiant.

[Oratio.]

**A**desto, Domine, supplicationibus nostris<sup>7</sup> et vitam et actus famulorum tuorum in salutis tue prosperitate dispone: vt inter omnes huius vie et vite varietates tuo semper protegantur auxilio.

Oratio.

**D**eus, a quo sancta desideria, recta consilia et iusta<sup>8</sup> sunt opera, da seruis tuis illam quam mundus dare non potest pacem, vt et corda nostra mandatis tuis dedita, et hostium sublata formidine, tempora sint tua protectione tranquilla.

Oratio.

**F**idelium Deus omnium conditor et redemptor, animabus<sup>9</sup> famulorum famularumque tuarum remissionem cunctorum tribue peccatorum: vt indulgentiam, quam semper optauerunt, pijs supplicationibus consequantur.

<sup>1</sup> inuocantibus: *B.* (fragment, which breaks off with this word).

<sup>2</sup> *add.* 17.

<sup>3</sup> quem: *Brev. Ebor. i.* 938, *Trin.*

<sup>4</sup> te perfetie†: 36; perfecte te: *Brev.* 93.

<sup>5</sup> 'cuncta' (for 'cunctam') misplaced, 36.

<sup>6</sup> infudisti: *Brev.* 93, *Y.*; infundis: *Brev.* 08, 33.

<sup>7</sup> nostra†: 36.

<sup>8</sup> iusta: 36. <sup>9</sup> *add* 'omnium': *Hore* 1517, *Brev.* 93, 08, 33 (*Brev.* 55 omits).



*Oratio.*

Omnium sanctorum tuorum<sup>1</sup> intercessionibus, quesumus, Domine, gratia tua nos semper protegat: et christianis tuis<sup>2</sup> viuientibus atque defunctis misericordiam tuam vbique pretende, vt viuentes<sup>3</sup> ab omnibus impugnationibus defensi tua opitulatione saluentur: et defuncti remissionem omnium suorum mereantur accipere peccatorum. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

<sup>4</sup> Benedicamus Domino.

Deo gratias<sup>5</sup>.

¶ *Sequuntur Vigilie Mortuorum*<sup>6</sup>.

AD VESPERAS.

*Antiphona.* Placebo.

*Psalmus* [cxviij. in quo monet ad laudem Dei pro beneficio liberationis a malis huius seculi]<sup>7</sup>.

**D**ILEXI, quoniam exaudiet Dominus: vocem orationis mee.  
Quia inclinauit aurem suam michi: et in diebus meis inuocabo.

<sup>1</sup> *omitt.* Brev. 93, W. and Harl. 1663.

<sup>2</sup> 'omnibus' (for 'tuis'), Brev. 93, W. Trin.

<sup>3</sup> viuientis†: 36. iuuentes: W.

<sup>4-5</sup> *omitt.* 17, Y.—add 'Fidelium anime, per misericordiam Dei, in pace requiescant. Amen.' Brev. Ebor. 1493. *Ceteri prorsus omittunt.* Benedicamus Domino. Deo gracias: A. cum edd. Cf. Br. i. 939.

The 16<sup>o</sup> of 1532 has here, after the series of prayers mentioned in our note on p. 97, an unusual concluding prayer or *oratio generalis*, which is not given in Mr Hoskins' index. It has very little affinity to (Alcuin's) *Missa pro petitione lachrymarum*, Sarum Missale, 819\*, but is in the Sarum *Horae* 1535-6, fo. 105<sup>b</sup>.

**P**Er horum omnium sanctorum, angelorum, archangelorum, patriarcharum, prophetarum, apostolorum, euangelistarum, martyrum, confessorum, atque virginum: et omnium electorum tuorum merita, intercessionem, orationes, et suffragia, clementissime Deus, infunde cordibus nostris fontem lachrymarum, vt possimus reatum conscientie nostre perfecte cognoscere, et valeamus (valeamusque: 35-36) coram te delicta [omnium] facinorum nostrorum et commissa fideliter accusare, et de eis (tua misericordia prestante) veniam perfectam habere. Per [Christum] Dominum nostrum. [Amen.]

¶ *Ad vespas defunctorum.* An. Placebo, &c. (1532). See *Manual*, p. 60 (where the music is printed).

<sup>6</sup> Woodcut (21½ × 2¾ in.) Job, with aureole, on dunghill. His wife and one of the comforters (in sixteenth century costume) stand by. Satan (horned like an ox) with right claw clutches his shoulder, and with a club held in the other menaces him. Underneath are the lines:

¶ Job in suffryng grete persecution  
Of his patience neuer myssed.  
Our Lorde knoweth my retribution.  
In wele and wo the name of God be blyssed.

The edition of 1517 has a large woodcut of the Doom. Y. (cir. 1516) has a different representation thereof, depicting various torments of the lost.

<sup>7</sup> Psalmus 114 in quo mouet &c.: This series of brief headings or short arguments of the contents of the psalms is found in *Horae Ebor.* 1517 and in *Sar.* 15. That

Circumdede runt me dolores...&c. *Brev. i. 877*<sup>1</sup>.

Requiem eternam dona eis, Domine :

et lux perpetua luceat eis.

*Ant.* Placebo Domino in regione viuorum.

*Ant.* Heu me.

*Psalmus* .[cxix.]

**A**d Dominum, cum tribularer, clamaui : et exaudiuit me.

Domine, libera animam meam...&c. *Br. i. 901.*

Requiem eternam...luceat eis.

*Ant.* Heu me, quia incolatus meus prolongatus est.

*Ant.* Dominus.

*Psalmus* .[cxxx.]

**L**euau i oculos meos in montes : vnde veniet auxilium michi.

Auxilium meum a Domino...&c. *Br. i. 902.*

Requiem...luceat eis.

*Ant.* Dominus custodit te ab omni malo : custodiat animam tuam Dominus.

*Ant.* Si iniquitates.

*Psalmus* .[cxxxix.]

**D**e profundis clamaui ad te, Domine : Domine, exaudi vocem meam.

Fiant aures tue intendent...&c. *Br. i. 899.*

Requiem...luceat eis.

*Ant.* Si iniquitates obseruaueris, Domine : Domine, quis sustinebit ?

*Ant.* Opera.

*Psalmus* .[cxxxvij.]

**C**onfitebor tibi, Domine, in toto corde meo : quoniam audisti verba Coris mei.

In conspectu angelorum...&c. *Br. i. 899.*

Requiem eternam.

*Ant.* Opera manuum<sup>2</sup> tuarum ne<sup>3</sup> despicias.

*Versus.* A porta inferi.

*R.* Erue, Domine, animas eorum.

*Ant.* Tuam, Deus.

*Canticum beate Marie.* [Luce .i. capitulo.]

**M**agnificat : anima mea Dominum.

Et exultauit spiritus meus in Deo salutari meo.

Quia respexit...&c. *Br. i. 929 (ut supra, p. 58, sine Gloria et Sicut erat).*

Requiem.

for Ps. cxix. (=118) is this: *in quo iustus petit liberari de malis huius seculi.* In Ed. Vulg., 'A lingua dolosa et locutrice contra verbum Dei, fidelis liberatur per Deum.' In the Orarium of 1560, 'Oratio ut liberemur a mundi vanitate.' It seems unnecessary to print the arguments for the rest of the psalms of this office from ed. 17.

<sup>1</sup> See also *York Manual*, pp. 60 foll.

<sup>2</sup> manum†: 36.

<sup>3</sup> Domine, ne: *Trin.*

*Ant.* Tuam, Deus, deprecemur pietatem, vt eis retribuere digneris lucidas et quietas mansiones.

Kyrie eleyson.

Christe eleyson.

Kyrie eleyson.

Pater noster.

Aue Maria.

*Ant.* Requiem eternam.

*Psalmus* .[*cælv.*]

**L**auda, anima mea, Dominum [:] laudabo Dominum in vita mea :  
psallam Deo meo *quamdiu* fuero.

*Nolite confidere in principibus :...&c.* (*Br.* i. 922 ; *Manual*, p. 64.)

...Regnabit dominus in secula, deus tuus \*Syon : in generatione et †  
generationem.

*Ant.* Requiem eternam dona eis, Domine : et lux perpetua luceat eis.

*V.* Credo videre bona Domini.

*R.* In terra viuientium.

*A* porta inferi.

Erue, Domini, animas eorum. [*Oremus.*]

*Oratio*<sup>1</sup>.

**O**mnipotens sempiterne Deus, cui nunquam sine spe misericordie supplicatur, propiciare anime famuli tui sacerdotis : vt, qui de hac vita in tui nominis confessione decessit, sanctorum tuorum numero facias aggregari.

**I**nclina, Domine, aurem tuam ad preces nostras, quibus misericordiam tuam supplices deprecamur, vt animam famuli tui, quem † de hoc seculo migrare iussisti, in pacis ac lucis regione constituas et sanctorum iubeas esse consortes Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

**M**iserere, quesumus, Domine, animabus omnium benefactorum nostrorum defunctorum : et pro beneficijs que nobis largiti sunt in terris premia eterna consequantur [in celis]. Per Dominum nostrum.

**F**idelium Deus omnium conditor et redemptor, animabus<sup>2</sup> famulorum famularumque tuarum<sup>3</sup> remissionem cunctorum tribue peccatorum : vt indulgentiam quam semper optauerunt pijs supplicationibus consequantur. Qui viuus et regnas Deus Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> *Sar.* has different collects here :—Deus cui proprium (*major*), Deus cui proprium (*minor*), Deus indulgentiarum. Deus, qui inter apostolicos. Deus venie. And then Fidelium. *Trin.* omits here (as on p. 110) the first collect, viz. *Omps. S. D. cui nunquam*. Also, the *Aue* on pp. 101, 102 (with ‘Pater nr.’), and adds ‘in celis’ in the 3rd collect, as it is (p. 111) at Lauds.

<sup>2-3</sup> omnium fidelium defunctorum : *Sar.*

\* *Sig. M.*  
*misprint*  
‘Ebrorum  
† et (*mis-*  
*printed*  
‘ee’)

## AD MATUTINAS.

[IN PRIMO NOCTURNO.]

*Antiphona.* Dirige.*Psalmus* .[v.]**V**erba mea auribus percipe, Domine: intellige clamorem meum.*Intende voci orationis mee...<sup>1</sup>&c. Br. i. 730.**Requiem eternam dona eis, Domine: et lux perpetua luceat eis.**Ant. Dirige, Domine Deus meus, in conspectu tuo viam meam.**Ant. Convertere, Domine.**Psalmus* .[vi.]**D**omine, ne in furore tuo arguas me: neque in ira tua corripas me.*Miserere mei, Domine, quoniam infirmus, &c. Br. i. 731 (ut supra, p. 89).**Requiem...luceat eis.**Ant. Convertere, Domine, et eripe animam meam: quoniam non est in morte qui memor sit tui.**Ant. Nequando.**Psalmus* .[vij.]**D**omine Deus meus, in te speravi, saluum me fac: ex omnibus persecutentibus me, et libera me.*Nequando rapiat, vt leo...&c. Br. i. 732.**Requiem eternam...luceat eis.**Ant. Nequando rapiat vt leo animam meam dum non est qui redimat, nèque qui saluum faciat.**V. A portā inferi.**R. Erue, Domine, animas eorum.**Pater.**Aue Maria.**Et ne nos inducas in tentationem.**Sed libera nos a malo.**Lectio prima. [Jobi vii. 16—21.]*<sup>2</sup> **P**arce michi, Domine: nichil enim sunt dies mei. Quid est homo, quia magnificas eum, aut quid apponis erga eum cor tuum? Visitas

<sup>1</sup> In sheet M two leaves are misplaced and two lost in the Lincoln copy of 1536. On sig. M. i. *verso*, T. W[atte] has drawn his merchant's mark along the lower margin, and M. ii. *recto* has taken off an impression before the ink was dry.

<sup>2</sup> Woodcut (2½ × 2½ in.), the Expulsion from Eden. "Parce michi, Domine" on label. The verses seem rather out of place, and perhaps should change place with those attached to the 3rd lection.

¶ Whan Adam dyde knowe howe he fyrst came  
Created of God, vnto his ymage  
Gretely he prayesd our Lordes myghty name  
And glorified hym in euery aage.

The Latin lines under a similar woodcut in *Sar.* 35–6 are more apposite:

Ex vetito pomo postquam sumpsero parentes  
Fructum, &c.

The ix lessons of the Dirge were known as "Pety Job." See E.E.T.S. vol. 124 (O.S.), 1904, p. 121. In that volume (pp. 107–149) Dr J. Kail has edited two

eum diluculo et subito probas illum. Usquequo non parcis michi, nec dimittis me vt glutiam saliuam meam? Peccaui. Quid faciam tibi, o custos hominum? Quare posuisti me contrarium tibi et factus sum nichimetipsi grauis? Cur non tollis peccatum meum: et quare non aufers iniquitatem meam? Ecce nunc in puluere<sup>1</sup> dormio: et si mane me quesieris non subsistam.

*Responsorium.* Credo quod redemptor meus viuit et in nouissimo die de terra surrecturus sum. Et in carne mea videbo Deum, Saluatorem meum.

*Versus.* Quem visurus sum ego ipse et non alius: et oculi mei conspecturi sunt. <sup>2</sup>Et in carne mea videbo Deum<sup>3</sup>, Saluatorem meum.

*Lectio secunda. [Jobi .x. 1—7.]*

<sup>4</sup> **T**edet animam meam vite mee: dimittam aduersum me eloquium meum. Loquar in amaritudine anime mee: dicam Deo, Noli me condemnare. Indica michi, cur me ita iudices. Nunquid bonum tibi videtur si calumniaris et opprimas me, opus manuum tuarum: et consilium impiorum adiuues? Nunquid oculi carnei tibi sunt: aut sicut videt homo et tu vides? Nunquid sicut dies hominis dies tui, et anni tui sicut humana sunt tempora? vt queras iniquitatem meam et peccatum meum scruteris. Et scias quia nichil impium fecerim: cum sit nemo qui de manu tua possit eruere.

*R.* Qui Lazarum resuscitasti a monumento fetidum, tu eis, Domine, dona requiem. Et locum indulgentie.

Requiem eternam dona eis, Domine. Et locum.

*Lectio tertia. [Jobi .x. 8—12.]*

<sup>5</sup> **M**anus tue fecerunt me: et plasmauerunt me totum in circuitu et sic repente precipitas me. Memento, queso, quod sicut lutum feceris me: et in puluerem reduces me. Nonne sicut lac mulsisti me:

versions of these 'nyne lessouns of the *Dirige*' in English verse (with another poem on '*Parce michi, Domine,*' of the bird which lost her four feathers of youth, beauty, strength and riches) from the Oxford MSS. *Douce*, 322, with *Digby*, 102.

<sup>1</sup> pulre†36.

<sup>2-3</sup> omit. Trin.

<sup>4</sup> Woodcut ( $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$  in.). "Adam" making basket work, "Eva" nursing her babe. In the background a scene of toil, and the murder of Abel. On a scroll, "Tedet animam meam vite mee." Below:

¶ Whan Adam sawe his time was nere past  
Knowlegyng this worldes bryttlenesse breuenesse: *Sar.*  
His lyfe bewayled that he conde† not last  
But ende unweldy, full of wretchdnesse†.

<sup>5</sup> Woodcut (lost here), probably, as in a similar series of illustrations, Adam kneeling before his Maker. A skeleton lying on a hill in the background. On two ribbons "Memento homo, quia cinis es: in puluerem reuerteris" and "Manus tue, Domine, fecerunt me." The following is the stanza found in this place in *Sar.* 35-6, lf. 112:

¶ Whan Adam had knowledged he dyd misse,  
And remembred his grete ygnorance:  
O Lord God he sayd, forgive me this;  
And after warde he dyde grete penaunce.



et sicut caseum me coagulasti? Pelle et carnibus vestisti me: ossibus et nervis compegisti me: vitam et misericordiam tribuisti michi: et visitatio tua custodiuit spiritum meum.

*Responsorium.* Domine, quando veneris iudicare terram: vbi me abscondam a vultu ire tue? Quia peccaui nimis in vita mea.

*Versus.* Commissa mea pauesco et ante te erubesco [:] dum veneris iudicare noli me condemnare.

Quia peccaui nimis in vita mea.

[IN SECUNDO NOCTURNO.]

*Ant.* In loco.

*Psalmus* .[xxij.]

**D**ominus regit me, et nichil michi deerit: in loco pascue ibi me collocavit.

Super aquam refectionis...&c<sup>1</sup>. *Br.* i. 754.

Requiem eternam dona eis, Domine: et lux perpetua luceat eis.

*Ant.* In loco pascue ibi me collocavit.

*Ant.* Delicta.

*Psalmus* .[xxiii.]

**A**d te, Domine, leuavi animam meam: deus meus in te confido, non erubescam.

Neque irrideant me inimici mei...&c. *Br.* i. 755.

Requiem...luceat eis.

*Ant.* Delicta iuuentutis mee et ignorantias meas ne memineris, Domine.

*Ant.* Credo videre.

*Psalmus* .[xxvi.]

**D**ominus illuminatio mea et salus mea: quem timebo.

Dominus protector vite mee...&c. *Br.* i. 757.

Circuiui...vociferacionis: cantabo\* [et psalmum dicam Domino.]

Requiem eternam...luceat eis.

*Ant.* Credo videre bona Domini in terra viuientium.

*V.* Ne tradas bestiis animas confitentes tibi.

*R.* Et animas in terra viuientium pauperum tuorum ne obliuiscaris in finem.

<sup>1</sup> Verses 1-7 of Ps. xxii. = 23, have accidentally missed impressing on the space intended for them in the lower half of sig. M. 6, in the unique surviving copy of 1536 at Lincoln. A sixteenth century possessor has employed the space to record his ownership:

"WhoSo on me loke, I am Thomas Metcalfe boke.

Therffor I praye you let me haue y<sup>e</sup> a gane."

T. W[atte] has again written his mark along the lower margin and has closed the little book before the ink was dry.

\* Lf. M. 8  
and N. i.  
lost

*Lectio quarta. [Jobi .xiiij. 23—28.]*

<sup>1</sup> **R**esponde michi: Quantas habeo iniquitates et peccata, scelera mea et delicta ostende michi. Cur faciem tuam abscondis, et arbitraris me inimicum tuum? Contra folium, quod vento rapitur, ostendis potentiam tuam, et stipulam siccam persequeris. Scribis enim contra me amaritudines, et consumere me vis peccatis adolescentie mee. Posuisti in neruo pedem meum, et obseruasti omnes semitas meas, et vestigia pedum meorum considerasti: qui quasi putredo consumendus sum, et quasi vestimentum, quod comeditur a tineâ.

*R.* Heu michi, Domine, quia peccaui nimis in vita mea. Quid faciam miser? Ubi fugiam, nisi ad te, Deus meus? Miserere mei. Dum veneris in nouissimo die. *V.* Anima mea turbata est valde: sed tu, Domine, succurre ei.

Dum veneris.

*Lectio quinta. [Jobi .xiiij. 1—6.]*

<sup>2\*</sup> **H**omo natus de muliere breui viuens tempore repletur multis miserijs. \* Lf. N. ij. Qui quasi flos egreditur et conteritur: et fugit velut<sup>3</sup> vmbra et nunquam in eodem statu permanet. Et dignum ducis super huiuscemodi aperire oculos tuos: et adducere eum tecum in iudicium? Quis potest facere mundum de immundo conceptum semine? Nonne tu qui solus es? Breues dies hominis sunt: numerus mensium eius apud te est. Constituisti terminos eius qui preteriri non poterunt. Recede ergo paululum ab eo, vt quiescat donec optata veniat et sicut mercennarij dies eius.

*R.* Ne recorderis peccata mea, Domine. Dum veneris iudicare seculum per ignem.

*V.* Dirige, Domine Deus meus, in conspectu tuo viam meam.

Dum veneris iudicare seculum per ignem.

<sup>1</sup> On sig. M. 8<sup>b</sup> (now lost) a woodcut, probably, represented St Bruno and clergy in choir at a funeral service. Four tapers are set by the herse. Reader at lectern at head, saying "Responde michi." Bruno sees fiend carrying off the soul which cries "Condemnatus sum." The lines:

¶ A chanon the whiche att Parys dyed,  
As they his seruyce in the quere dyd syng:  
At the fourth lesson alowde he cryde  
Saying I am dampned for my lyuyng.

<sup>2</sup> A woodcut probably occurred on Lf. N. j. (now lost). In the similar series in *Sar.* 35-6, the illustration here shows in an upper scene, the birth of a child. Below, woman receiving extreme unction. Priest puts taper in her hand. The ribbons have "Homo natus de muliere" and "Breui viuens tempore." A cripple on crutches comes down the stairs: "Repletur multis miserijs." These lines probably followed:

¶ Euery man, that borne is of woman,  
Fylled is of all mysery:  
Sure of dethe, but not how, where, or whan,  
It is so short: as is seen dayly.

Four lines of Arabic numerals have been written in ink at the foot of sig. N. i. *recto*, in this (1536) copy at Lincoln. <sup>3</sup> uelud: *Trin.*

*Lectio sexta. [Jobi .xiiij. 13—16.]*

\* Lf. N. 3. <sup>1\*</sup> **Q**uis michi hoc tribuat vt in inferno protegas me et abscondas me donec pertranseat furor tuus et constituas michi tempus in quo recorderis mei? Putasne mortuus: homo rursus uiuat? Cunctis diebus quibus nunc milito, expecto donec veniat immutatio mea. Vocabis me, et ego respondebo tibi. Operi manuum<sup>2</sup> tuarum porriges dexteram. Tu quidem gressus meos dinumerasti: sed parce peccatis meis.

*R.* Libera me, Domine, de vijs inferni. Qui portas ereas confregisti, et visitasti infernum, et dedisti eis lumen, vt viderent te qui erant in penis tenebrarum.

*V.* Clamantes et dicentes, Aduenisti, redemptor noster.

Qui portas ereas confregisti, et visitasti.

## [IN TERTIO NOCTURNO.]

*Ant.* Complaceat.

*Psalmus* [.xxxix. in quo ecclesia gratias agit de beneficio incarnationis Filii Dei].<sup>3</sup>

**E**xpectans expectaui Dominum: et intendit michi.  
*Et exaudiuit preces meas...&c. Br. i. 776.*

*Ant.* Complaceat tibi, Domine, et eruas me: Domine<sup>4</sup>, ad adiuuandum me respice.

*Ant.* Sana, Domine.

*Psalmus* [.xl. in quo agitur de passione Christi et eius resurrectione. Vox prophete].

**B**eatus qui intelligit super egenum et pauperem: in die mala liberabit eum Dominus.

*Dominus conseruet eum...&c. Br. i. 778.*

*Requiem.*

*Ant.* Sana, Domine, animam meam quia peccaui tibi.

<sup>1</sup> Woodcut (21 $\frac{7}{8}$  × 2 $\frac{1}{8}$  in.). Souls in flames. Motto: "Constituas mihi tempus in quo recorderis mei." The Saviour, bearing a mound, appears above in benediction. Beneath:

¶ For the synnes, voluptes and worldly pleasures,  
That man commytteth by hys wyllfulnessse,  
It behoueth that he be tryed pure,  
Lyke as the fyne golde is [in] the furnesse.

<sup>2</sup> manum: 36.

<sup>3</sup> 1517-18 (with *Sar.* 35-6) has these (and other) expository headings to the select psalms.

<sup>4</sup> omit. 'Domine': *Trin.*

*Ant.* Sitiuit.

*Psalmus* [*.xli. in quo monetur fidelis, ne seculi tristitie retrahant eum a desiderio eterne vite*].<sup>1</sup>

Quemadmodum desiderat ceruus ad fontes aquarum: ita desiderat anima mea ad te, Deus.

Sitiuit anima mea...&c. *Br.* i. 779.

*Requiem.*

*Ant.* Sitiuit anima mea ad Deum fontem<sup>2</sup> viuum: quando veniam et apparebo ante faciem Domini?

*V.* Anime eorum in bonis demorentur.

*R.* Et semen eorum hereditabit<sup>3</sup> terram.

*Pater noster.*

*Lectio .vij.* [*Jobi .xvij. 1—3; 11—15.*]

<sup>4</sup> *S*piritus meus attenuabitur: dies mei breuiabuntur et solum michi superest sepulchrum. Non peccaui et in amaritudinibus moratur oculus meus. Libera me, Domine, et pone me iuxta te, et cuiusuis manus pugnet contra me. Dies mei transierunt, cogitationes mee dissipate sunt, torquentes cor meum. Noctem verterunt in diem: et rursum post tenebras spero lucem. Si sustinuero, infernus domus mea est: et in tenebris stravi lectulum meum. Putredini dixi, Pater meus es: mater mea, et soror mea, vermibus. Vbi est ergo nunc prestolatio mea et patientia mea tu es, Domine Deus meus.

*R.* Peccantem me quotidie et non penitentem<sup>5</sup> timor mortis conturbat me.

Quia in inferno nulla est redemptio: miserere mei, Deus, et salua me.

*Versus.* Deus, in nomine tuo saluum me fac: et in virtute tua libera me.

Quia in inferno nulla est redemptio: miserere mei, Deus, et salua me.

*Lectio octaua.* [*Jobi .xix. 20—27.*]

<sup>6</sup> *P*elli mee consumptis carnibus adhesit os meum: et derelicta sunt tantummodo labia circa dentes meos.

Miseremini mei, miseremini mei saltem vos amici mei: quia manus Domini tetigit me. Quare persequimini me, sicut Deus, et carnibus meis

<sup>1</sup> 1517 (with Sar. 35-6) has these (and other) expository headings to the select psalms.

<sup>2</sup> *omit.* 'fontem': *Trin.*

<sup>3</sup> hereditat: *Trin.*

<sup>4</sup> Woodcut (2 $\frac{1}{2}$  × 2 $\frac{1}{8}$  in.). Mother with babe, to whom "Caro" offers a flower. She is habited like a lady of Holbein's time. "Mundus" holding a mound (not surmounted by the cross) draws his attention. "Demonium" (with goat's horns) encourages the world in his tempting. On 5 scrolls "Mundus, Caro, Demonium diuersa mouent prelia" and "Quare de vulva eduxisti me?" Below:

What man in this worlde hath done full aeye  
With trouble, thought, labour and mysery  
Dooth [not] hope at the ende of his pylgrymage  
For to atteyne the eternell glory?

<sup>5</sup> non repenitentem: *Trin.*

<sup>6</sup> Woodcut (2 $\frac{1}{2}$  × 2 $\frac{1}{8}$  in.). Job on his dunghill, as above, p. 99. The lines below it ("¶ Job in suffryng grete persecution") are likewise repeated in this place.

saturamini? Quis michi tribuat vt scribantur sermones mei? Quis michi det vt exarentur in libro stilo ferreo, aut plumbi lamina, vel celte<sup>1</sup> sculpantur in silice? Scio enim quod redemptor meus viuit: et in nouissimo die de terra surrecturus sum. Et rursum circundabor pelle mea: et in carne mea videbo Deum saluatorem meum. Quem visurus sum ego ipse, et oculi mei conspecturi sunt et non alius. Reposita est hec spes mea in sinu meo.

*R.* Deus eterne, in cuius humana conditio potestate consistit, animas omnium fidelium defunctorum, quesumus, ab omnibus absolue peccatis. Ut penitentie fructum quem voluntas eorum optauit: preuentia mortis<sup>2</sup> non perdant.

*V.* Qui in cruce positus latronem sero penitentem suscepisti eorum precamur pie peccata dele.

Ut penitentie fructum quem voluntas eorum optauit: preuentia &c.

*Lectio nona. [Jobi .ix. 18—22.]*

\* Lf. N. 8. <sup>3\*</sup> **Q**uare de vulua eduxisti me, qui vtinam consumptus essem ne oculus me videret. Fuissem quasi non essem: de vtero translatus ad tumulum. Nunquid non paucitas dierum meorum finietur breui? Dimitte ergo me, Domine, vt plangam paululum dolorem meum antequam vadam et non reuertar ad terram tenebrosam et opertam mortis calligine†. Terram miserie et tenebrarum vbi vmbra mortis et nullus ordo, sed sempiternus horror inhabitans†.

*Responsorium.* Libera me, Domine, de morte eterna in die illa tremenda.

Quando celi mouendi sunt et terra. Dum veneris iudicare seculum per ignem.

*Versus.* Dies illa, dies ire, calamitatis et miserie: dies magna et amara valde.

Quando celi mouendi sunt et terra<sup>4</sup>.

*V.* Audiui vocem de celo dicentem.

Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur.

<sup>1</sup> celte: *edd.* A curious 'ghost-word.' See our Preliminary Notes.

<sup>2</sup> preuentia mortis: (*bis*) 17, 36; preuenti morte: *Trin.*, Br. ii. 665, *Man.* 81. (*Sar.* has, for its 8<sup>th</sup> R., Requiem, & *V.* Qui Lazarum.) *Trin.* has the reading 'inhabitat.' (*Job* x. 22.)

<sup>3</sup> Woodcut ( $2\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{10}$  in.). Priest in surplice administers the host to a dying woman: a chalice, or ciborium, in his left hand. Two clerks (one with torch) and three friends. Christ appears in window above (back of picture). Guardian angel hovers over the bed, suggesting (on scroll) the dying prayer, "Libera me, Domine, et pone me iuxta te." Fiend lurking under bed-clothes. Below:

¶ A chylde that is in to this worlde comyng

Is hardely be set with mady† a fo:

Whiche euer is redi to his vndoyng

She (The) worlde, the flesshe, the deuyll and tethe (? death) also.

In some woodcuts the three spiritual enemies are represented in the design.

<sup>4</sup> 'Repetatur *R.* Libera me, quando fit cum .ix. lectionibus': *Man.* 83; *Trin.*



## ¶ IN LAUDIBUS.

*Ant.* Exultabunt.*Psalmus* .[*l.*]**M**iserere mei, Deus: secundum magnam misericordiam tuam.  
Et secundum multitudinem miserationum...&c. *Br.* i. 788.Sacrificium Deo spiritus contribulatus \*cor contritum...&c....altare  
tuum vitulos. \* *Sig. O*  
*Eborum.*

Requiem eternam.

*Ant.* Exultabunt Domino ossa humiliata.*Ant.* Exaudi [Domine].*Psalmus* .[*lxxij.*]**T**e decet hymnus, Deus, in Syon et tibi reddetur votum in Hierusalem.*Exaudi, Deus, orationem meam...&c. Br.* i. 802.*Ant.* Exaudi, Domine, orationem meam: ad te omnis caro veniet.*Ant.* Me suscepit.*Psalmus* .[*lxxij.*]**D**eus Deus meus: ad te de luce vigilo.  
Sitiuit in te anima mea...&c. *Br.* i. 801.*Psalmus* .[*lxxj.*]**D**eus misereatur nostri et benedicat nobis [:] illuminet vultum suum  
super nos et misereatur nostri.*Ut cognoscamus in terra viam tuam...&c. Br.* i. 804.*Requiem eternam dona eis, Domine: et lux perpetua luceat eis.**Ant.* Me suscepit dextera tua, Domine.*Ant.* Eruisti, Domine.*Psalmus.* [*sive Canticum Ezechie. Esaie cap. xxxviij. 10—20.*]<sup>1</sup>**E**go dixi in dimidio dierum meorum vadam ad portas inferi.  
*Quiesui residuum annorum...&c. Br.* i. 790.*Requiem.**Ant.* Eruisti, Domine, animam meam vt non periret.*Ant.* <sup>†</sup>Omnis spiritus.*Psalmus* .[*cxlvij.*]**L**audate Dominum de celis: laudate eum in excelsis.  
*Laudate eum omnes angeli...&c. Br.* i. 926.<sup>1</sup> p̄s. siue canticum ezechielis†. *Isaye. xxxvii.† capi.: 17.*

[*Psalmus .cxlix.*]

**C**antate Domino canticum nouum : laus eius in ecclesia sanctorum.  
*Letetur Israel in eo qui fecit eum...&c. Br. i. 927.*

[*Ps. cl.*]

**L**audate Dominum in sanctis eius : laudate eum in firmamento virtutis eius.

*Laudate eum in virtutibus eius...&c. Br. i. 927.*

*Ant. Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum.*

*V. A porta inferi.*

*R. Erue, Domine, animas eorum.*

*Ant. Ego sum.*

*Psalmus. [Canticum Zacharie. Luce cap. i<sup>mo</sup>. 68—79.]*

**B**enedictus Dominus Deus Israel : quia visitauit et fecit redemptionem plebis sue.

*Et erexit cornu salutis nobis...&c. Br. i. 929.*

*Requiem eternam.*

*Ant. Ego sum resurrectio et vita [:] qui credit in me etiam si mortuus fuerit uiuet : et omnis qui uiuit et credit in me non morietur in eternum.*

*Kyrie eleyson.*

*Christe eleyson.*

*Kyrie eleyson.*

*Pater noster.*

[*Psalmus .[xxix].*]

**E**xaltabo te, Domine, quoniam suscepisti me : nec delectasti inimicos meos super me.

*Domine Deus meus clamaui...&c. Br. i. 760.*

*Versus. Requiem eternam dona eis, Domine.*

*Et lux perpetua luceat eis.*

*A porta inferi.*

*Erue, Domine, animas eorum.*

*Domine, exaudi orationem meam.*

*Et clamor meus ad te veniat.*

*Oremus.*

[*Pro sacerdote.*]

**O**mnipotens sempiterne Deus, cui nunquam sine spe misericordie supplicatur<sup>1</sup>, propiciare anime famuli tui sacerdotis : vt, qui de hac vita in tui nominis confessione decessit, sanctorum tuorum numero facias aggregari.

[*Pro famulo.*]

**I**nclina, Domine, aurem tuam ad preces nostras, quibus misericordiam, &c. (*ut supra*, p. 101).

<sup>1</sup> supplicantur† : 36.

[*Pro benefactoribus.*]

**M**iserere, quesumus, Domine, animabus omnium benefactorum nostrorum...consequantur in celis (*ut supra*, p. 101).

[*Oratio generalis.*]

**A**nimabus, quesumus, Domine, famulorum famularumque tuarum oratio proficiat supplicantium, vt eas et a peccatis omnibus exuas : et tue redemptionis facias esse participes.

**D**eus venie largitor, et humane salutis amator, quesumus immensam clementiam tuam vt nostre congregationis fratres et sorores, que ex hoc seculo transierunt, beata Maria semper virgine, et beato Petro apostolo tuo intercedente, cum omnibus sanctis ad perpetue beatitudinis consortium peruenire concedas.

**D**eus, qui nos patrem et matrem honorare precepisti, miserere clementer animabus patrum et matrum nostrarum; eorumque omnia peccata dimitte: nosque eis in eterne claritatis gaudio fac viuere.

**D**eus, in cuius miseratione anime fidelium requiescunt famulis et famulabus tuis omnibus, hic et vbique in Christo quiescentibus, da propicius veniam peccatorum, vt a cunctis reatibus absoluti tecum sine fine letentur. Per Dominum<sup>1</sup>.

¶ *Sequuntur Commendationes Animarum.*

## COMMENDATIONES ANIMARUM.

[*Psalmus .cxviiij.*]<sup>2</sup>

**B**EATI immaculati in via, qui ambulant in lege Domini.  
Beati qui scrutantur...&c. *Brev.* i. 880.

<sup>3</sup>In quo corrigit adolescentior viam suam: in custodiendo sermones tuos?

In toto corde meo exquisiui...&c. *Br.* i. 881.

**R**etribue seruo tuo: viuifica me et custodiam sermones tuos.  
Reuela oculos...&c. *Br.* i. 881.

<sup>4</sup>Adhesit pauimento anima mea [:] viuifica me secundum verbum tuum.  
Vias meas annunciaui...&c. *Br.* i. 882.

<sup>1</sup> Here follow in Y. (fo. 125) the devotion,

Sancte et indiuidue Trinitati, Jesu Christi humanitati (with various 'benedictiones'), also the prayer 'whan ye goe ouer a church yarde' (17, lf. cxxix.),—

*Oratio pro defunctis.* Auete omnes anime fideles, &c.

Domine Jesu Christe, salus et liberatio fidelium animarum.

<sup>2</sup> The Sarum *Horae*, 1535-6, has prefixed to the Psalms of Commendation a large woodcut of the Obsequies and Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. As the Apostles carry the bier, a Sadducee lays his hands upon it, and they are miraculously torn off at the wrists. A similar print is found in *Ebor.* 17-18, lf. xxiii., before Compline of the Virgin.

<sup>3, 4</sup> *Ebor.* 17 distinguishes every octonary in *Ps.* cxviii. by a large initial letter.

**L**egem pone michi, Domine, viam iustificationum tuarum: et exquiram eam semper.

*Da michi intellectum...&c. Br. i. 890.*

*Et*<sup>1</sup> veniat super me misericordia tua, Domine: salutare tuum secundum eloquium tuum.

*Et respondebo...&c. Br. i. 890.*

**M**emor esto verbi tui seruo tuo in quo michi spem dedisti.

*Hec me consolata est...&c. Br. i. 891.*

*Portio mea, Domine: dixi custodiam legem tuam.*

*Deprecatus sum faciem...&c. Br. i. 891.*

**B**onitatem fecisti cum seruo tuo, Domine: secundum verbum tuum.

*Bonitatem et disciplinam...&c. Br. i. 892.*

*Manus*<sup>2</sup> tue fecerunt me, plasmauerunt me: da michi intellectum ut discam mandata tua.

*Qui timent te videbunt me...&c. ibid.*

**D**efecit<sup>3</sup> in salutare tuum anima mea: et in verbum tuum supersperaui.

*Defecerunt oculi...&c. Br. i. 895.*

*Ineternum, Domine*<sup>5</sup>: verbum tuum permanet in celo.

*In generatione*<sup>†</sup> et generationem...&c. *ibid.*

**Q**uomodo dilexi legem tuam, Domine: tota die meditatio mea est.

*Super inimicos meos prudentem...&c.*<sup>4</sup> *Br. i. 896.*

*Lucerna*<sup>1</sup> pedibus meis verbum tuum: et lumen semitis meis.

*Iuravi...&c. Br. i. 896.*

**I**niquos odio habui: et legem tuam dilexi.

*Adiutor et susceptor...&c. ibid.*

*Feci*<sup>1</sup> iudicium et iusticiam: non tradas me calumniantibus me.

*Suscipe seruum...&c. Br. i. 897.*

*Seruus tuus sum ego* [:] *da michi intellectum vt sciam* \*testimonia tua...&c....odio habui.

**M**irabilia testimonia tua: ideo scrutata est ea anima mea.

*Declaratio sermonum tuorum...&c. Br. i. 898.*

*Iustus*<sup>1</sup> es Domine: et rectum iudicium tuum.

*Mandasti...&c. Br. i. 899.*

**C**lamaui in toto corde meo, exaudi me, Domine: iustificationes tuas requiram.

*Clamaui ad te, saluum me fac: vt...&c. ibid.*

*Vide*<sup>1</sup> humilitatem meam, et eripe me: quia legem tuam non sum oblitus.

*Iudica iudicium meum...&c. ibid.*

<sup>1</sup> *Ebor. 36* has merely a small rubricated initial to the octonaries thus marked. *Ebor. 17* allows a large capital to the 1st verse of every set of 8 in *Ps. cxviii.*

<sup>2</sup> *Magnus*<sup>†</sup>: 17.

<sup>3-5</sup> *Ebor. 36* omits two octonaries, *Caph* and *Lamed.*

<sup>4</sup> A note has been written on the lower margin of *Sig. O. 8, recto*, in the *Lincoln book, 36*:—"Mr Thom metcalffe Dirge boke."

**P**rincipes persecuti sunt me gratis : et a verbis tuis formidauit cor meum.

*Letabor ego super eloquia...&c. Br. i. 900.*

Appropinquet deprecatio mea in conspectu tuo, Domine ; iuxta eloquium tuum da michi intellectum.

*Intret postulatio...&c. Br. i. 900.*

V. Requiem eternam dona eis, Domine.

R. Et lux perpetua luceat eis.

Kyrie eleyson.

Christe eleyson.

Kyrie eleyson.

Pater noster<sup>1</sup>.

Aue<sup>2</sup>.

Requiem eternam.

Et lux perpetua.

A porta inferi.

Erue, Domine, animas eorum.

Credo videre bona Domini.

In terra uiuentium.

Domine, exaudi [orationem meam:]

Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

Oremus.

**O**mnipotens sempiterne Deus, cui nunquam, *vt supra*, p. 101.

Oremus.

**I**ncлина, Domine, aurem tuam, *vt supra*, p. 101.

*Oratio.*

**Q**uesumus, Domine, pro tua pietate<sup>3</sup>, miserere anime famule tue, et a contagijs mortalitatis exutam in eterne<sup>4</sup> salutis partem restitue.

*Oratio.*

**M**iserere, quesumus, Domine, *vt supra*, p. 101.

*Oratio.*

**A**bsolue, quesumus, Domine, animas famulorum famularumque tuarum ab omni vinculo delictorum, vt in resurrectionis gloria inter sanctos et electos tuos resuscitati<sup>5</sup> respirent.

**O**mnipotens sempiterne Deus, vnica spes mortalium, te supplices exoramus pro animabus famulorum famularumque tuarum parentum et benefactorum nostrorum, vt interueniente beata Dei genitrice<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Y. and 17 (with Sar.) end the Commendations with an additional *Psalmus Domine probasti* (cxxxviii.) *in quo monet a Deo non esse fugiendum*, and some other devotions. The *Psalm Domine, probasti* was said instead of *Et ne nos* at the end of the Lord's prayer. Cf. Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* iii. 177, from B. Mus. MS. 17010, circ. 1410.—Tibi, Domine, commendamus animam famuli tui, &c. *Oratio ad sanctam crucem.* Salue, salue, rex sanctorum. (Said in the churchyard.)

<sup>2</sup> The *Aue Maria* is inserted in 17 and in *Sar.* 23.

<sup>3</sup> proprietate† tua : 55. <sup>4</sup> eterna : 55. <sup>5</sup> resuscitari† : 36. <sup>6</sup> genetrix : 55.



Maria, cum omnibus sanctis tuis peccatorum eis largiri digneris indulgentiam, et in nouissimo die beate resurrectionis leticiam.

**D**eus, summa<sup>1</sup> spes nostre redemptionis, qui in terra promissionis ante omnes terras mortem elegisti atque sustinuisti, libera propicius animas famulorum famularumque tuarum de manibus demonum, et eandem terram de potestate paganorum: ut populus qui in te non credit per virtutem tuam emendationem habeat, et illis qui in te consistunt, per tuam magnam succurre pietatem. Qui uiuis et regnas Deus.

*Oratio.*

**O**bsecro te, Jesu Christe, Fili Dei uiui, per sanctam crucem tuam ut dimittas delicta mea: per beatam crucem tuam custodi caput meum: per dilectabilem crucem custodi oculos meos: per venerabilem crucem custodi os meum: per admirabile signum sancte crucis custodi aures meas: per gloriosam crucem<sup>2</sup> custodi manus meas<sup>3</sup>: per sanctam crucem tuam custodi<sup>4</sup> genua mea<sup>5</sup>: per honorabilem crucem tuam custodi<sup>6</sup> pedes meos, et omnia membra mea ab insidijs et ab omnibus impugnacionibus<sup>7</sup> dyaboli et malorum hominum: per dedicatam crucem in corpore tuo custodi animam meam, et libera me in nouissimo die: et tribue michi vitam eternam, saluator mundi. Qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto uiuis et regnas Deus. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

¶ *Sequuntur psalmi de passione Domini<sup>8</sup>.*

## PSALMI DE PASSIONE

### DOMINI.

[*Psalmus .xxj. in quo agitur de passione et resurrectione Christi.*]

**D**EVS Deus meus respice in me quare me dereliquisti: longe a salute mea verba delictorum meorum.

Deus meus clamabo per diem...&c. *Br. i. 751-2.*

[*Psalmus .xxij. in quo agitur de misericordia Dei.*]

**D**ominus regit me, et supra (p. 104) in *Vigilijs Mortuorum.* *Sr. i. 754.*

[*Psalmus .xxij. in quo mouet de glorificatione et hominis reparatione.*]

**D**omini est terra, et supra in *matutinis* (p. 39). *Sr. i. 754.*

[*Psalmus .xxij. in quo docet vir iustus in aduersis non inuenire: sed diuinum expectare adiutorium.*]

**A**d te, Domine, leuaui, et supra (p. 104) in *Vigilijs Mortuorum.* *Br. i. 755.*

<sup>1</sup> summe: 55.

<sup>2</sup> gloriosam sanctam crucem tuam; 55.

<sup>3</sup> aut 55.

<sup>5</sup> impugnacionibus†: 55.

<sup>6</sup> Christi: Y.

<sup>7</sup> The brief arguments or expository titles of the psalms appear in *Ebor. 1517* as in *Sar. 1535-6*. Our *Ebor. 36* omits even the word 'Psalmus' here, having supplied the comprehensive title for the Psalm of the Passion of our Lord, as well as the twice misprinted running title *Psalmi de passione xpi*.

[*Psalmus .xcv. in quo orat iustus a consortio malorum separari.*]

**I**udica me, Domine, quoniam ego in innocencia mea ingressus sum :  
in Domino sperans non infirmabor.

Proba me...&c. *Br. i. 756.*

[*Psalmus .xcvi. in quo vir iustus petit a Deo gratiam ut preualeat  
contra hostes spirituales : et ut perveniat ad regnum.*]

**D**ominus illuminatio, ut supra (p. 104) in *Vigilijs Mortuorum.*  
*Br. i. 757.*

[*Psalmus .xcvii. in quo est vox Christi hominis de passione  
et resurrectione sua.*]

**A**d te, Domine, clamabo, Deus meus, ne sileas a me : nequando taceas a  
me et assimilabor descendentibus in lacum.

Exaudi, Domine, vocem...&c. *Br. i. 758.*

[*Psalmus .xcviii. in quo monetur fidelis afferre spirituales hostias Deo.*]

**A**fferre Domino, filij Dei : afferre Domino filios arietum.

Afferre Domino gloriam et honorem...&c. *Br. i. 759.*

[*Psalmus .xcix. in quo agitur de resurrectione Christi.*]

**E**xaltabo te, Domine, quoniam, ut supra (p. 110) in *Vigilijs Mortuorum.* *Br. i. 760.*

[*Psalmus .xxx. in quo monetur iustus ne de se presumat : sed in  
Dei misericordia speret.*]

**I**n te, Domine, speravi [:] non confundar in eternum : in iustitia tua  
libera me.

Inclina ad me aurem tuam...&c. *Br. i. 761.*

*Ant.* Christus factus est pro nobis obediens vsque ad mortem, mortem  
autem crucis.

*V.* Ora pro nobis, sancta Dei genitrix.

*R.* Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.

*Oratio.*

**R**espice, quesumus, Domine, super hanc familiam<sup>1</sup> tuam pro qua  
Dominus noster Jesus Christus non dubitavit manibus tradi noc-  
centium : <sup>2</sup>et crucis subire<sup>3</sup> tormentum.

Interueniat pro nobis, Domine Jesu Christe, apud tuam clementiam,  
nunc et in hora mortis nostre, gloriosa virgo Maria, sanctissima mater  
tua : cuius sacratissimam animam, in hora passionis tue, doloris gladius  
pertransiuit.

Beati Johannis apostoli tui et euangeliste, quesumus, Domine Deus  
noster, nunc et in hora mortis nostre, iugiter commendet oratio : cui<sup>4</sup> in  
cruce moriens matrem tuam virginem virgini commendasti<sup>5</sup>. <sup>6</sup>[Qui  
viviis et regnas Deus Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.]<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> famulā†: 55.

<sup>2-3</sup> ne crucis subiret: 36; et crucis subire: *Sar. 23*; nec crucis subire: 55.

<sup>4</sup> qui: *Sar., Y. 55.*

<sup>5</sup> commendat†: 55.

<sup>6-7</sup> *Add. 17, Y., Sar. 36, 55.*

Gloriosa passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi eruat nos a dolore tristi : et perducatur nos ad gaudia paradisi. Amen.

Benedictum sit dulce nomen Domini nostri Jesu Christi et gloriosissime<sup>1</sup> virginis Marie, matris eius, in eternum et ultra. Amen.

Nos cum prole pia benedicat virgo Maria. Amen.

Sancte et indiuidue Trinitati, Jesu Christi crucifixi humanitati, gloriose virgini Marie<sup>2</sup> sit sempiterna gloria ab omni creatura per infinita seculorum secula. Amen.

<sup>3</sup>[Pater noster qui es in celis.

Aue Maria gratia plena.]<sup>4</sup>

**A**VE benigna<sup>5</sup> Jesu gratia plenus, misericordia tecum. Benedicta passio, mors et vulnera tua : et benedictus sanguis vulnerum tuorum. Domine, miserere michi peccatori. Dulcissime Domine, da michi cor mundum, contritum, quietum, patiens et humile : castum corpus, obediens et stabile, semper in tuis obsequijs mancipatum<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>3</sup>[Pater noster.

Aue Maria gratia plena.]<sup>4</sup>

¶ *Sequitur psalterium beati Hieronymi.*

[PSALTERIUM B. HIERONYMI.]<sup>7</sup>

**V**erba mea auribus percipe, Domine : intellige clamorem meum.

Intende voci orationis mee : rex meus et Deus meus.

Domine, ne in ira tua arguas me : neque in furore tuo corripas me.

Miserere mei, Domine, quoniam infirmus sum : sana me, Domine, quoniam conturbata sunt ossa mea.

Et anima mea turbata est valde : sed tu, Domine, vsquequo ?

<sup>1</sup> gloriose; Ebor. 17, Y., Sar. 36; gloriosissima†: 55.

<sup>2</sup> Marie virgini: 55.

<sup>3-4</sup> Add. Ebor. 17, Sar. 36.

<sup>5</sup> benigne; Ebor. 17, Y., Sar.; benignissima: 55.

<sup>6</sup> 55 ends 'Qui viuus. Finis.' rubricated at end of the book. Y. adds here :

¶ *Oratio de beata virgine Maria.* Aue Maria, Ancilla sancte Trinitatis. Aue Maria, sponsa Spiritussancti, &c. (fo. 142).

<sup>7</sup> The York *Horae* of 1517 and the Sarum *Horae* 1535-6 have this introduction to the present section:—¶ *Beatus Hieronymus in hoc modo disposuit hoc psalterium : ubi angelus Domini docuit eum per Spiritum sanctum. Porro propter hoc abbreviatum est, quod hi qui solitudinem habent, vel qui in infirmitate iacent, aut qui in operibus occupantur, vel iter agunt, vel longinquam viam, seu per mare navigant, aut qui bellum contra hostes committunt, seu contra inuidiam dyabolorum, qui militant contra animas christianorum assidue, aut qui verum votum voverunt Deo quotidie psallere psalterium integrum, et minime possunt hoc facere : vel qui ieiunant fortiter et debilitatem habent, et pro his qui festa solemnia custodiunt : eo quod minime possunt psalterium canere illud. Unumquemque ergo ex his quos superius diximus, si volunt animam suam saluam facere, et vitam eternam habere, assidue oportet canere hoc psalterium, et possidebunt regnum Dei. Amen.*

This Psalter of St Jerome contains 190 verses, inclusive of Gloria Patri. As it is said in the Peterhouse MS. 276, 4. 16<sup>b</sup> (slip), that

David propheta cantauit carmina leta :

Ter quinquagenos cantauit [in] ordine psalmos :

Versus bis mille sex centum sex canit ille—

this would be less than one fourteenth of the length of the entire Psalter.

Conuertere, Domine, et eripe animam meam : saluum me fac propter misericordiam tuam.

Respice et exaudi me, Domine Deus meus.

Illumina oculos meos : ne vnquam obdormiam in morte.

Perfice gressus meos in semitis tuis : vt non moueantur<sup>1</sup> vestigia mea.

Ego clamaui quoniam exaudisti me, Deus : inclina aurem tuam michi, et exaudi verba mea.

Mirifica misericordias tuas : qui saluos facis sperantes in te.

Custodi me, Domine, vt pupillam oculi : sub vmbra alarum tuarum protege me, a facie impiorum qui me affixerunt.

Ab occultis meis munda me, Domine : et ab alienis parce seruo tuo.

Tu autem, Domine, ne longe facias auxilium tuum a me : ad defensionem meam conspice.

Erue a framea, Deus, animam meam : et de manu canis vnicam meam.

Salua me ex ore leonis : et a cornibus vnicornium humilitatem meam.

Narrabo nomen tuum fratribus meis : in medio ecclesie laudabo te.

Vias tuas, Domine, notas fac michi : et semitas tuas edoce me, et dirige me in veritate tua.

Memento miserationum tuarum, Domine : et misericordie tue, que a seculo sunt.

Delicta iuuentutis mee et ignorantias meas : ne memineris, Deus.

Secundum misericordiam tuam memor esto mei : propter veritatem<sup>2</sup> tuam, Domine.

Propter nomen tuum, Domine, propitiaberis peccato meo : multum est enim.

Vide humilitatem meam et laborem meum : et dimitte omnia peccata mea.

Ne perdas cum impijs, Deus, animam meam : et cum viris sanguinum vitam meam.

Exaudi, Domine, vocem meam qua clamaui ad te : miserere mei et exaudi me.

Ne auertas faciem tuam a me : ne declines in ira a seruo tuo.

Adiutor meus esto, Domine, ne derelinquas me : neque despicias me Deus salutaris meus.

Legem pone michi, Domine, in via tua, et dirige me in semita recta : propter inimicos meos.

Ne tradideris me in animas tribulantium me : quoniam insurrexerunt in me.

Ad te, Domine, clamabo, Deus meus, ne sileas a me ne vnquam discedas a me : et ero similis descendentibus in lacum.

Exaudi, Domine, vocem deprecationis mee dum oro ad te : dum extollo manus meas ad templum sanctum tuum.

Ne simul tradas me cum peccatoribus : et cum operantibus iniquitatem ne perdas me.

Saluum fac populum tuum, Domine, et benedic hereditati tue : et rege eos et extolle illos vsque in eternum.

<sup>1</sup> commoueantur : *Sar.*

<sup>2</sup> veriattē† : 36.



*In te, Domine, speravi, non confundar in eternum : in iustitia tua libera me.*

*Inclina ad me aurem tuam : accelera vt eruas me.*

*Esto michi in Deum protectorem et in domum refugij : vt saluum me facias.*

*In manus tuas, Domine : commendo spiritum meum.*

*Libera me, et eripe me : de manibus inimicorum meorum.*

*Illumina faciem tuam super seruum tuum, saluum me fac : in misericordia tua, Domine, non confundar, quoniam inuocaui te.*

*Fiat misericordia tua, Domine, super nos : quemadmodum sperauimus in te.*

*Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore : semper laus eius in ore meo.*

*In Domino laudabitur anima mea : audiant mansueti et letentur.*

*Magnificate Dominum mecum : et exaltemus nomen eius in idipsum.*

*Judica, Domine, nocentes me : impugna impugnantes me.*

*Apprehende arma et scutum : et exurge in adiutorium michi.*

*Ne sileas, Domine, ne discedas a me : exurge, et intende iudicium meum, Deus meus et Dominus meus, in causam meam.*

*Judica me secundum iustitiam meam : Domine Deus meus.*

*Pretende, Domine, misericordiam tuam scientibus te : et iustitiam tuam his qui recto sunt corde.*

*Non veniat michi pes superbie : et manus peccatoris non moueat me.*

*Exaudi orationem meam, Domine, et deprecationem meam : auribus percipe lachrymas meas.*

*Ne sileas quoniam aduena ego sum apud te, et peregrinus sicut omnes patres mei : remitte michi<sup>1</sup> vt refrigerer priusquam abeam : et amplius non ero.*

*Tu autem, Domine, ne longe facias auxilium tuum a me : misericordia tua et veritas tua semper susceperunt me.*

*Quoniam circumdederunt me mala quorum non est numerus : comprehenderunt me iniquitates mee : et non potui vt viderem.*

*Multiplicati sunt super capillos capitis mei : et cor meum dereliquit me.*

*Complaceat tibi, Domine, vt eruas me : Domine, in auxilium meum respice.*

*Ego vero egenus et pauper sum : Domine, curam habe mei.*

*Adiutor meus et protector meus tu es : Deus meus, ne tardaueris.*

*Ego dixi, Domine, miserere mei : sana animam meam quia peccaui tibi.*

*Exurge, quare obdormis, Domine ? exurge et ne repellas in finem.*

*Quare faciem tuam auertis ? obliuisceris inopie nostre et tribulationis nostre.*

*Exurge, Domine, adiuua nos : et libera nos propter nomen tuum.*

*Miserere mei Deus : secundum magnam misericordiam tuam.*

*Et secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum : dele iniquitatem meam.*

*Et multum laua me ab iniustitia mea : et a delicto meo munda me.*

*Auerte faciem tuam a peccatis meis : et omnes iniquitates meas dele.*

<sup>1</sup> *Sar.* 23 begins a fresh verse with 'Remitte michi.'



Cor mundum crea in me Deus : et spiritum rectum innova in visceribus meis.

Ne proicias me a facie tua : et spiritum sanctum tuum ne auferas a me.

Redde michi leticiam salutaris tui : et spiritu principali confirma me.

Domine, labia mea aperies : et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam.

Deus, in nomine tuo saluum me fac : et in virtute tua iudica me.

Deus, exaudi orationem meam : auribus percipe verba oris mei.

Quoniam alieni insurrexerunt in me, et fortes quesierunt animam meam : et non proposuerunt Deum ante conspectum suum.

Exaudi, Deus, orationem meam, et ne despexeris deprecationem meam : intende in me, et exaudi me.

In Deo laudabo verbum, in Domino laudabo sermonem, in Deo speravi : non timebo quid faciat michi homo.

In me sunt, Deus, vota tua : que reddam laudationes tibi.

Quoniam eripuisti animam meam de morte, et pedes meos a lapsu : vt placeam coram Deo in terra viventium.

Miserere mei, Deus, miserere mei : quoniam in te confidit anima mea.

Et in umbra alarum tuarum sperabo : donec transeat iniquitas.

Eripe me de operantibus iniquitatem : et de viris sanguinum salua me.

Quia ecce ceperunt animam meam : irruerunt in me fortes.

Ego vero orationem meam ad te, Domine : tempus beneplaciti, Deus.

In multitudine misericordie tue exaudi me : in veritate salutis tue.

Salua me a luto, vt non inheream : libera me ex odientibus me, et de profundo aquarum.

Non me demergat tempestas aque, neque absorbeat me profundum : neque vrgeat super me puteus os suum.

Exaudi me, Domine, quoniam benigna est misericordia tua : secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum respice in me.

Intende anime mee, et libera eam : propter inimicos meos eripe me.

Deus, in adiutorium meum intende : Domine, ad adiuuandum me festina.

Ego vero egenus et pauper sum : Deus, adiuua me.

Adiutor meus et liberator meus esto, Domine : ne tardaveris.

In te, Domine, speravi : non confundar in eternum : in iustitia tua libera me, et eripe me.

Inclina, Domine, aurem tuam : et eripe me.

Esto michi in Deum protectorem : et in locum munitum vt saluum me facias.

Deus meus, eripe me de manu peccatoris : et de manu contra legem agentis et iniqui.

Repleatur os meum laude, vt possim cantare gloriam tuam : totam magnitudinem tuam.

Ne proicias me in tempore senectutis mee : cum defecerit vir meum derelinquas me.

Deus, ne elongeris a me : Deus meus, in auxilium meum respice.

Ego autem in te sperabo : et adiciam super omnem laudem tuam.

*Ne tradas bestiis animas confitentium tibi: et animas pauperum tuorum ne obliuiscaris<sup>1</sup> in finem.*

*Respice in testamentum tuum: quia repleti sunt qui obscurati sunt terre domibus iniquitatum.*

*Adiuua nos, Deus salutaris noster: et propter gloriam nominis tui, Domine, libera nos, et propitius esto peccatis nostris, propter nomen tuum.*

*Excita potentiam tuam et veni: vt saluos facias nos.*

*Domine Deus virtutum, conuerte nos: et ostende faciem tuam, et salui erimus.*

*Conuerte nos, Deus salutaris noster: et auerte iram tuam a nobis.*

*Nunquid in eternum irasceris nobis: aut extendes iram tuam a generatione et progenie?*

*Deus, tu conuer<sup>\*sus</sup> viuificabis nos: et plebs tua letabitur in te.*

\* *Sig.*  
*Eborum Q.* *Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam: et salutare tuum da nobis.*

*Inclina, Domine, aurem tuam, et exaudi me: quoniam egenus et pauper sum ego.*

*Custodi animam meam, quoniam peccator sum: saluum fac seruum tuum, Deus meus, sperantem in te.*

*Miserere mei, Domine, quoniam ad te clamaui tota die, letifica animam serui tui: quoniam ad te, Domine, animam meam leuaui.*

*Et tu, Domine Deus, miserator et misericors: patiens et multe misericordie, et verax.*

*Respice in me, et miserere mei: da imperium puero tuo, et saluum fac filium ancille tue.*

*Fac mecum signum in bonum, vt videant qui oderunt me, et confundantur: quoniam tu, Domine, adiuuisti me et consolatus es me.*

*Domine Deus salutis mee, in die clamaui ad te: et nocte coram te.*

*Intret oratio mea in conspectu tuo: inclina aurem tuam ad preces meam.*

*Ubi sunt misericordie tue antique, Domine: sicut iurasti Dauid in veritate tua.*

*Memor esto, Domine, opprobrij seruorum tuorum: quod continui in sinu meo multarum gentium.*

*Conuertere, Domine, vsquequo: et deprecabilis esto super seruos tuos.*

*Et<sup>2</sup> sit splendor Domini Dei nostri super nos, et<sup>3</sup> opera manuum nostrarum dirige super nos: et<sup>4</sup> opus manuum nostrarum dirige.*

*Domine, exaudi orationem meam: et clamor meus ad te veniat.*

*Non auertas faciem tuam a me: in quacunque die tribulor inclina ad me aurem tuam.*

*In quacunque die inuocauero te: velociter exaudi me.*

*Ne educas me in dimidio dierum meorum: in generatione et rationem anni tui.*

*Domine, fac mecum propter nomen tuum: quoniam suavis est misericordia tua.*

*Domine, libera me, quia egenus et pauper sum ego: et cor meum non est intra me.*

: 36. <sup>2</sup> Et (not rubricated) in the Lincoln copy, 36. <sup>3-4</sup> omit 36.

Sicut umbra, cum declinat, ablatus sum: et excussus sum sicut locusta.  
 Adiuvā me, Domine Deus meus: et salva me propter misericordiam  
 tuam.

Retribue seruo tuo, vivifica me: et custodiam sermones tuos.  
 Revela oculos meos: et considerabo mirabilia de lege tua.  
 Incola ego sum in terra: non abscondas a me mandata tua.  
 Concupiuit anima mea desiderare iustificationes tuas: in omni tempore.  
 Increpasti superbos: maledicti qui declinant a mandatis tuis.  
 Aufer a me opprobrium et contemptum: quia testimonia tua exquisiui.  
 Et enim sederunt principes, et aduersum me loquebantur: seruus autem  
 tuus exercebatur in iustificationibus tuis.

Viam iniquitatis amoue a me: et de lege tua miserere mei.  
 Viam veritatis elegi: iudicia tua non sum oblitus.  
 Deduc me in semita mandatorum tuorum: quia ipsam volui.  
 Inclina cor meum in testimonia tua: et non in auariciam.  
 Auerte oculos meos, ne videant vanitatem: in via tua vivifica me.  
 Statue seruo tuo eloquium tuum: in timore tuo.  
 Bonitatem et disciplinam et scientiam doce me: quia mandatis tuis  
 credidi.

Bonus es tu: et in bonitate tua doce me iustificationes tuas.  
 Fiat misericordia tua vt exhortetur me: secundum eloquium tuum  
 seruo tuo.

Veniant michi miserationes tue, et viam: quia lex tua meditatio mea  
 est.

Fiat cor meum immaculatum in iustificationibus tuis: vt non con-  
 fundar.

Humiliatus sum vsquequaque, Domine: vivifica me secundum verbum  
 tuum.

Voluntaria oris mei beneplacita fac, Domine: et iudicia tua doce me.  
 Anima mea in manibus meis semper: et legem tuam non sum oblitus.  
 Suscipe me secundum eloquium tuum, et viam: et non confundas me  
 ab expectatione mea.

Adiuvā me et saluus ero: et meditabor in iustificationibus tuis semper.  
 Fac cum seruo tuo secundum misericordiam tuam: et iustificationes  
 tuas doce me.

Seruus tuus sum ego, da michi intellectum: vt sciam testimonia tua.  
 Respice in me, et miserere mei: secundum iudicium diligentium  
 nomen tuum.

Gressus<sup>1</sup> meos dirige secundum eloquium tuum: et non dominetur  
 mei omnis iniustitia.

Redime me a calumnijs hominum: vt custodiam mandata tua.  
 Faciem tuam illumina super seruum tuum: et doce me iustificationes  
 tuas.

Vide humilitatem meam, et eripe me: quia legem tuam non sum  
 oblitus.

Judica iudicium meum, et redime me: propter eloquium tuum vivi-  
 fica me.

<sup>1</sup> Gressus: (the initial letter not rubricated) 36.

*Appropinquet deprecatio mea in conspectu tuo, Domine: iuxta eloquium tuum da michi intellectum.*

*Intret oratio mea in conspectu tuo, Domine: secundum eloquium tuum eripe me.*

*Eructabunt labia mea hymnum: cum docueris me iustificationes tuas. Annuntiabit lingua mea<sup>1</sup> eloquium tuum: quia omnia mandata tua equitas.*

*Fiat manus tua vt saluum me faciat: quia mandata tua elegi.*

*Concupiui salutare tuum, Domine: et lex tua meditatio mea est.*

*Viuet anima mea, et laudabit te: et iudicia tua adiuuabunt me.*

*Erraui, sicut ouis que periit: quere seruum tuum, Domine, quia mandata tua non sum oblitus.*

*Miserere nobis, Domine, miserere nobis: quia multum repleti sumus contempione.*

*Benefac, Domine: bonis et rectis corde.*

*Conuertere, Domine, captiuitatem nostram: sicut torrens in austro.*

*De profundis clamaui ad te, Domine: Domine, exaudi vocem meam.*

*Fiant aures tue intendentes: in vocem deprecationis mee.*

*In quacunque die inuocauero te, exaudi me: multiplicabis in anima mea virtutem.*

*Pone, Domine, custodiam ori meo: et ostium circumstantie labijs meis.*

*Non declines cor meum in verba malitie: ad excusandas excusationes in peccatis.*

*Intende ad deprecationem meam: quia humiliatus sum nimis.*

*Eripe me de persequentibus me: quoniam preualuerunt super me.*

*Educ de custodia animam meam: ad confitendum nomini tuo.*

*Domine, exaudi orationem meam: auribus percipe obsecrationem meam in veritate tua, exaudi me in tua iustitia.*

*Et non intres in iudicium cum seruo tuo: quia non iustificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis viuens.*

*Quia persecutus est inimicus animam meam: humiliavit in terra vitam meam.*

*Velociter exaudi me, Domine: deficit spiritus meus.*

*Ne auertas faciem tuam a me: et ero similis descendentibus in lacum.*

*Auditam fac michi mane misericordiam tuam: quia in te speraui.*

*Notam fac michi viam in qua ambulem: quia ad te leuaui animam meam.*

*Eripe me de inimicis meis, Domine; ad te confugi: doce me facere voluntatem tuam, quia Deus meus es tu.*

*Spiritus tuus bonus deducet me in terram rectam: propter nomen tuum, Domine, viuificabis me in equitate tua.*

*Et educes de tribulatione animam meam: et in misericordia tua disperdes omnes inimicos meos.*

*Et perdes omnes qui tribulant animam meam: quoniam ego seruus tuus sum.*

*Gloria Patri [et Filio: et Spiritui sancto.*

*Sicut erat principio et nunc et semper: et in secula seculorum amen.]*

<sup>1</sup> Annunciaui† lingua mea: 36.



Oremus.

**D**ona michi, queso, omnipotens Deus: vt per hanc sancrosanctam psalterij celestis melodiam anima mea saginetur. Dona vt leo rugiens ab infirma oue superetur. Dona vt per tuam gratiam violentissimus spiritus a debilissima carne vincatur. Dona vt ille qui de celo cecidit hic me pugnante subdatur. Dona vt si potestatem eius ad tempus tua permissione patimur: nequaquam eius insatiabilibus faucibus sorbeamur. Fac illum tristem de humana salute, qui de offensione nostra semper exultat. Fac me tuis semper laudibus vacare, et ad tuam quandoque dulcedinem misericorditer peruenire. Qui viuus [et regnas Deus. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.]<sup>1</sup>

¶ PASSIO DOMINI NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI

*secundum Johannem*<sup>2</sup>. [Cap. xix. 1—34, *sparsim*§.]

**I**N illo tempore. Apprehendit Pylatus Jesum et flagellauit eum. Et milites plectentes coronam de spinis imposuerunt super caput eius et veste purpurea circumdederunt eum: et veniebant ad eum et dicebant, Aue rex Judeorum. Et dabant ei alapas, expuentes in eum<sup>3</sup>. Et acceperunt arundinem, et percutiebant caput eius. Susceperunt autem milites Jesum, et baiulans sibi crucem exiuit in eum qui dicitur caluarie locus, et ibi<sup>4</sup> crucifixerunt eum: et cum eo alios duos hinc et inde<sup>5</sup>, medium autem Jesum. Postea, sciens Jesus omnia que ventura erant<sup>6</sup>, dixit, Sitio. Et acceperunt spongiam plenam<sup>7</sup> aceto ysopo circumponentes obtulerunt ori eius. Et cum gustasset noluit bibere<sup>8</sup>, sed dixit, Consummatum est. Et inclinato capite emisit spiritum. Et statim terra tremuit, et sol obscuratus est: et velum templi scissum est, et petre scisse sunt: et monumenta aperta sunt: et qui dormierant surrexerunt. Que cum vidisset centurio dixit, Vere Filius Dei erat iste. Tandem<sup>9</sup> vnus militum lancea latus eius aperuit, et continuo exiuit sanguis et aqua. Et qui vidit testimonium perhibuit, et scimus quia verum est testimonium eius<sup>10</sup>.

*Oratio*<sup>11</sup>.

**D**eus, qui manus tuas et pedes tuos et totum corpus tuum pro nobis peccatoribus in ligno crucis posuisti et coronam spinarum a Judeis<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Sar.* 1535–6 adds here ‘Pater noster. Aue Maria, gratia. Credo, &c.,’ which the (York) edd. and *Sar.* 23 do not specify. At this point *Ebor.* 1517–18 (cf. clx., foll.) and *Sar.* 1523, 1535–6, give the *Oratio ad S. Hieronymum* Aue amator quam famose Hieronyme. *V. Ora. R. Ut digni.* Oremus. Deus qui gloriosum confessorem. Then *Hore de nomine Jesu*, and Evensong of the same by Richard of Hampole, and Hours of the B. Virgin at certain seasons.

<sup>2</sup> This ‘Passion according to John: *In illo tempore. Apprehendit*’ (which is a *cento*, taken partly from St Matthew, as well) appears in the *Sarum Horae* of 1514. (Mr Hoskins’ Index does not distinguish this from the more usual *Egressus est*.)

<sup>3</sup> expuentes in eum: *Matt.* xxvii. 30.

<sup>4</sup> ubi: *Vulg.*

<sup>5</sup> et hinc: *vide* Wordsworth and White, i. p. 632 n. 18.

<sup>6</sup> *Jo.* xviii. 4.

<sup>7</sup> planam†: 36.

<sup>8</sup> *Matt.* xxvii. 34.

<sup>9</sup> Tandem†: 36.

<sup>10</sup> eius testimonium: *W. and White*, i. p. 636 n. 35.

<sup>11</sup> ‘*Or.* Deus, qui manus tuas’ is found in *Sarum Horae* of 1497, 1514, and in the English and Latin Prymer, 8° *Rouen*, 1536. (See Hoskins, pp. 119, 129, 162.)

<sup>12</sup> As to this blaming of the Jews, see above, p. 77 n. 3.

§ *Item*  
Cap. xviii.  
4, *necnon*  
sec. *Matt.*  
xxvii. 30,  
34.



in despectu tui sacratissimi nominis super caput tuum impositam sustinuisti, quinque vulnera pro nobis peccatoribus passus fuisti, da nobis hodie et quotidie vsum penitentiae: abstinentiae: patientiae: humilitatis lumen, sensum et intellectum, et puram conscientiam vsque in finem. Per te, Jesu Christe. Qui vivis et regnas.

[SUFFRAGIA.]

¶ *Oratio ad Deum Patrem*<sup>1</sup>.

Pater de celis Deus.

Miserere nobis.

**D**OMINE SANCTE PATER, omnipotens eterne Deus, qui coequallem consubstantialem et coeternum tibi ante omnia secula Filium ineffabiliter<sup>2</sup> genuisti: cum quo, atque cum sancto Spiritu, ex te eodemque Filio procedente, celum et<sup>3</sup> terram atque omnia quaecunque existunt visibilia et invisibilia mirabiliter creasti. Tibi gratias ago, te adoro, te laudo, te benedico, teque magnifico.

Esto michi propicius miserrimo peccatori: ne despicias me, opus manuum tuarum; sed libera, salua et adiuua me, propter nomen tuum. Qui vivis et regnas Deus. Per omnia [secula seculorum. Amen.]

¶ *Oratio ad Filium.*

Fili, redemptor mundi Deus:

Miserere nobis.

**D**omine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei viui, qui es virtus<sup>4</sup> et omnipotens Deus, splendor et imago Patris, et vita eterna, cui est vna cum eterno Patre et Spiritu sancto equalis honor, eadem gloria, coeterna maiestas, vna substantia. Tibi gratias ago, te adoro, te laudo, te benedico, teque glorifico.

Ne me, obsecro, perire patiaris: sed salua et adiuua me propter nomen sanctum tuum. Qui vivis [et regnas Deus. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen].

¶ *Oratio ad Spiritum sanctum.*

Spiritus sancte Deus.

Miserere nobis.

**D**omine Spiritus sancte Deus, qui coequalis consubstantialis et coeternus Patri Filioque existens, ab eis ineffabiliter procedens: quique super eundem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum in columbe specie, et supra sanctos discipulos tuos<sup>5</sup> in linguis igneis, descendisti. Tibi gratias ago, te adoro, te laudo, te benedico, teque glorifico.

Repelle a me, queso, tenebras totius iniquitatis: et perforce<sup>6</sup> et accende

<sup>1</sup> These prayers to the Three Persons of the Godhead are found in *Sarum*, 1494. In 36 (Ebor.) there is a small woodcut of the Holy Trinity ( $1\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{8}$  in.). (It differs, of course, from the still smaller one at p. 72, above.)

<sup>2</sup> inestimabiliter: 17 (lf. lxxxviii.).

<sup>4</sup> verus: 17.

<sup>6</sup> iniquitatis et perfidie: 17.

<sup>3</sup> omit. 'et': 17.

<sup>5</sup> suos: 17.

in me lumen misericordie tue, et ignem sanctissimi amoris tui. Qui viuus et regnas Deus. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

¶ *Here begynneth a treatyse concernynge the helthe<sup>1</sup> of mannes soule whiche was compyled and caused to be prynted at the request of the honorable knyght syr George Darcy, sone and ayre vnto my lorde Thomas Darcy of Temple Newsum<sup>2</sup>.*

DEUS propicius esto michi peccatori, et [esto] custos mei omnibus diebus vite mee. Deus Abraham, Deus Ysaac, et Deus Jacob, miserere mei, et mitte in adiutorium meum Michaellem archangelum tuum, qui me custodiat, protegat et defendat ab omnibus inimicis meis visibilibus et inuisibilibus.

Sancte Michael, archangele Dei, defende me in prelio, vt non peream in tremendo iudicio. Archangele Christi, per gratiam quam meruisti, te deprecor, per vnigenitum Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, vt eruas me hodie et in omni tempore a periculo mortifero. Sancte Michael, sancte Gabriel, sancte Raphael, omnes sancti angeli et archangeli Dei, succurrite michi. Precor vos, omnes virtutes celorum, vel<sup>3</sup> per summam Dei potentiam, detis michi auxilium, quod nullus inimicus me condemnare possit nec grauare, nec in domo, nec extra domum, nec dormientem, nec vigilantem. Ecce [✠] crucem Domini: fugite partes aduerse: vicit leo de tribu Juda, radix Dauid, stirps Jesse, saluator mundi, salua me qui per crucem et sanguinem tuum redemisti me, auxiliare michi, Deus meus. Agyos, agyos, agyos. Crux Christi, protege me. Crux Christi, salua me. Crux Christi, defende me ab omni malo. Amen.

*Versus.* Ora pro nobis, beate Michael archangele.

*R.* Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi. [Oremus.]

*Oratio.*

Deus, qui miro ordine angelorum ministeria hominumque dispensas: concede propicius: vt quibus tibi ministrantibus in celo semper assistitur, ab his in terra vita nostra muniatur. Per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum: qui tecum viuit et regnat in vnitatem Spiritus sancti Deus. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

[Pater noster. Ave Maria.]

<sup>1</sup> helte†: 36.

<sup>2</sup> In *Ebor.* 17 and *Sar.* 35-6 the heading is different—¶ *Oratio bona quotidie dicentibus, reuelatione diuina transmissa vni monacho de Bynham. Circa A. Dñi M.cccc. et lxxxv. quinque Pater noster. quinque Ave Maria, gratia plena, et Credo in Deum.* [Oremus.] Deus propitius esto, &c.—A prayer with at least a very similar opening is said in the *Sarum Horae* of 1510-11 to have been shown by revelation to *St Augustine* (Hoskins, p. 124). The 'monk of Bynham, circa A.D. 1485' is mentioned in the *Sarum Horae* of 1494 (*ibid.* p. 114). Bynham St Mary's, Norfolk, was a cell of the Benedictine Abbey of St Albans. Temple Newsum, near Leeds in Yorkshire, was granted to John Darcy, lord Darcy, by K. Edward III. on the suppression of the Order of the Templars who had had a Preceptory there. Thomas Lord Darcy was betrayed and beheaded in 1537.

Another version of the prayer 'Deus, propicius esto' occurs on ff. 91, 92 of the *York Horae* of 1517.

<sup>3</sup> vt: 17 (ff. lxxxix.).

¶ *De nominibus Dei.*

**O**mnipotens ✠<sup>1</sup> Dominus ✠ Christus ✠ Messias ✠ Sother ✠ Emmanuel<sup>2</sup> ✠ Sabaoth ✠ Adonay ✠ Unigenitus ✠ Via .<sup>3</sup>Vita .<sup>3</sup>Manus .<sup>3</sup>Homo[✠]<sup>3</sup>usio .<sup>3</sup>Saluator .<sup>3</sup>Alpha<sup>3</sup>et oo .<sup>3</sup>Fons .<sup>3</sup>Origo .<sup>3</sup>Spes .<sup>3</sup>Fides .<sup>3</sup>Charitas .<sup>3</sup>Oza .<sup>3</sup>Agnus .<sup>3</sup>Ouis .<sup>3</sup>Vitulus .<sup>3</sup>Serpens .<sup>3</sup>Aries .<sup>2</sup>Leo .<sup>4</sup>Vermis .<sup>3</sup>Primus .<sup>5</sup>Nouissimus .<sup>3</sup>Rex .<sup>3</sup>Pater .<sup>3</sup>Filius .<sup>3</sup>Spiritus sanctus .<sup>3</sup>Ego sum .<sup>2</sup>Qui sum .<sup>3</sup>Creator .<sup>3</sup>Eternus .<sup>3</sup>Redemptor .<sup>3</sup>Trinitas .<sup>3</sup>Unitas .<sup>3</sup>Clemens .<sup>3</sup>Caput .<sup>3</sup>Otheotecos<sup>6</sup> . Tetragrammaton<sup>8</sup>.

Ista nomina me protegant et defendant ab omni aduersitate plaga et infirmitate corporis et anime, plene liberent et assistant michi in auxilium.

Ista nomina regum, videlicet Jaspas, Melchior, Balthasar. Et duodecim apostoli Domini nostri Jesu Christi: quorum nomina sunt hec. Petrus, Paulus, Andreas, Jacobus, Philippus, Jacobus, Symon, Thadeus, Thomas, Bartholomeus. Et quattuor euangeliste, quorum nomina sunt hec. Marcus†, Matheus, Lucas, Johannes: michi assistant in omnibus necessitatibus meis: ac me defendant et liberent ab omnibus periculis, tentationibus et angustiis corporis et anime: et ab vniuersis malis presentibus, preteritis et futuris, me custodiant nunc et in eternum. [Amen. Oremus.]<sup>7</sup>

**O** Domine Jesu Christe in tuam protectionem me indignum famulum tuum *N.* (*vel* famulam tuam *N.*) hodie et omni tempore committo in protectionem angelorum et archangelorum: <sup>8</sup>et in protectionem omnium sanctorum tuorum tali commissione qua commisisti sanctam virginem Mariam, matrem tuam, sancto Johanni euangeliste in cruce, taliter me indignum famulum tuum *N.*<sup>9</sup> (*vel* famulam tuam *N.*) hodie et omni tempore custodire, benedicere, protegere et saluare digneris: a subitanea et improuisa morte et ab omni fantasmate diabolico<sup>10</sup> et ab omnibus hostibus malis visibilibus et inuisibilibus. Amen.

[Pater noster. Aue.]<sup>7</sup>

¶ *Sequitur oratio multum deuota, ante sanctam communionem dicenda.*

**O** Fons totius misericordie qui nunquam manare cessas: veni hodie et tribue anime mee egrote carnem<sup>11</sup> tuam deuote sumam et preciosum sanguinem tuum bibam. Non quia iustus sum, sed peccator, quia non est opus sanis medicus sed male habentibus<sup>12</sup>. O vera charitas, in qua est eterna felicitas. O spes vnica anime mee: aufer a me iniquitates meas, vt pura mente merear intrare ad sancta sanctorum.

<sup>1</sup> ✠ omit 17 (fo. xevi.); in 'A deuowte inuocatyon and prayer of all the blessed names of our lorde Jesu Cryste as we fynde them wrytem† in holy scripture.'

<sup>2</sup> emanuel: 17.

<sup>3</sup> ✠ inserted in these places 17. (Homousion: 36; ✠Homo✠usio✠: 17.) There are 46 crosses marked in 1517-18, 4to, lf. xevi.; but only 9 in 1536, 16mo.

<sup>4-5</sup> ✠ primus ✠ vermis: 17.

<sup>6</sup> ✠otheoticos ✠: 17.

<sup>7</sup> add. 17.

<sup>8</sup> insert 'in protection† apostolorum et prophetarum, martyrum, confessorum et virginum': 17.

<sup>9</sup> omit 'N.' here: 17.

<sup>10</sup> fatasmale† diabolof: 36.

<sup>11</sup> carnem: 36 (for 'ut carnem').

<sup>12</sup> hadentibus†: 36.

Te expectat cor meum, imple desiderium quod in me misisti, vt ipse voluisti. Tuus sum ego, Christe; noli me derelinquere alieno: dextera tua semper me preueniat, et ab omni malo defendat. O Domine, veni, cui ego miserrimus peccaui; obliuiscere peccata mea, pro quibus effudisti sanguinem tuum; veni dulcissimus Deus, da michi cibum salutis eterne. Veni, hostia immaculata; libera me a morte eterna. Veni infirmorum medicus: veni ieiunantium cibus. Veni, Domine; visita domum istam nomine† tuo dedicatam: et ecce venio ad te, quem toto corde desidero<sup>1</sup>; ad quem tota mentis intentione aspiro: quem totis visceribus amplector: cuius corpus et sanguinem accipere cupio: vt semper in me maneat, et in eum non me dimittas, o dulcissime Pater.

¶ *Oratio post sanctam communionem dicenda*<sup>2</sup>.

**A**nima Christi, sanctifica me.

**C**orpus Christi, salua me.

**S**anguis Christi, inebria me.

**A**qua lateris Christi, laua me.

**S**plendor vultus Christi, conforta<sup>3</sup> me.

**P**assio Christi, conforta me<sup>4</sup>.

**B**one Jesu, exaudi me.

**I**n vulneribus tuis<sup>5</sup> absconde me<sup>6</sup>.

**A**b hoste maligno defende me.

**I**n hora<sup>7</sup> mortis mee voca me, protege me, et<sup>8</sup> pone me iuxta te: vt cum sanctis angelis tuis in secula seculorum laudem te<sup>9</sup>. Amen.

[Pater noster. Aue.]

¶ *Oratio post communionem.*

**H**ec sunt conuiuia que tibi placent, que nobis orphanis in memoriam tue dilectionis reliquisti. O Patris sapientia, natus de virgine, qui non dedignatus es venerabile corpus tuum tangi et sumi a me indigno peccatore: quid tibi digne reddam pro omnibus que retribuisti michi? Si enim totius mundi merita in vnum fuerint congesta, non valerent tue dignationi aliquatenus comparari. Gratias ago tibi, Jesu Christe: Fili Dei viui: rex regum et Dominus dominantium: gratiarum actiones pro posse fragilitatis mee tue tremende maiestati ac immense pietati, pijssime Jesu, refero, quod sacro corpore tuo et sanguine meam animam nimis aridam dulciter refecisti. Rogo te vt quicquid in me viciosum tue voluntati contrarium inuenitur, communionem huius sacramenti funditus

<sup>1</sup> desiderio†: 36.

<sup>2</sup> 'Anima Christi' is called a prayer "at the leuation of our Lord" in the *Sarum Horae* of 1494, and "at the elevation of the sacrament" in one of the *Sarum Primers* of 1538. See also our Introduction from *Ebor.* 1517.

<sup>3</sup> illumina: 17, 32.

<sup>4</sup> 'Sudor vultus Christi virtuosissimi sana me. O bone,' &c. *add.* 17, 32.

<sup>5</sup> intra vulnera tua: 17, 32.

<sup>6</sup> 'et ne permittas me separari a te,' *add.* 17, 32.

<sup>7-8</sup> mortis voca et: 17, 32.

<sup>9</sup> cum angelis et sanctis tuis laudem te Dominum saluatorem meum in secula seculorum: 17.



euacuetur : et cor meum dignum sancti Spiritus habitaculum preparetur. Et, dulcissime Jesu, sit hoc sacramentum corporis et sanguinis tui suauitas et dulcedo anime mee salus et sanctitas in omni turbatione : pax et gaudium in omni tribulatione : lumen et virtus in omni verbo et opere : solamen et tutela finalis in morte. Amen<sup>1</sup>.

¶ *De sancto Erasmo*<sup>2</sup>.

Sancte Erasme<sup>3</sup> martyr Jesu Christi qui die dominico Deo oblatus fuisti : et de eo magnam leticiam suscepisti. Suscipe hanc orationem pro salute corporis mei et anime mee ; et Deus per tuam orationem dignetur michi tribuere victum et vestitum, in hora mortis mee veram confessionem, contricionem, et salutare sacramentum cum vnctione olei sancti : † in bonis operibus cum recta fide, cum illis que Deo et tibi placita sunt ad laudem et honorem, michi autem ad consolationem. Modo, sancte Erasme<sup>3</sup> tibi commendo corpus meum et animam meam, vt Deus per tuam orationem dignetur michi tribuere gratiam : et commendo tibi omne consilium meum, omnes actus meos et omnia michi subiecta, vt eruas me ab omnibus inimicis meis visibilibus et inuisibilibus, qui michi cupiunt aduersare<sup>4</sup>, vt non possint michi nocere in aliquo, vel vllum damnum inferre anime mee, vel corpori meo : turpiter, vel dolose : occulte, seu manifeste. Quia tibi Deus promisit, vt quicunque nomen tuum inuocauerit, quicquid petierit, firmiter impetrabit : suscipe me, sancte Erasme<sup>3</sup>, in tuam sanctam fidem et gratiam ; <sup>5</sup>conserua me ab omni malo per hos octo dies<sup>6</sup>, et presta michi illos peragere cum recta fide et omni<sup>7</sup> prosperitate et gratia ad finem vite mee, vt non proficiat<sup>8</sup> in me vlla inimicorum voluntas, tibi ad laudem et honorem, michi aut[em] ad consolationem et gratiam. Tibi, sancte Erasme<sup>3</sup>, commendo corpus meum et animam meam : et

<sup>1</sup> The following devotions occur in the rare Brasenose fragment cir. 1556 (see Hoskins, *Primers*, p. 78, no. 229), and we are indebted to Dr Falconer Madan and to the late Mr Hoskins for a transcript :—After ‘O salutaris hostia.’

¶ *In eleuatione sangui[ni]s.*

A Ve sanguis preciose de corpore Christi, qui pro nobis effusus fuisti. Redemptio totius populi, presta nobis post vitam seculi caritate eterna perfrui. Amen.

O sanguis Christi  
qui fusus amore fuisti  
humani generis ;  
nobis, precor, auxiliaberis.  
Dele peccata ;  
da nobis regna beata.

¶ *In ostensione eucharistie.* Ave salus, &c. ¶ *Orationes dicende mane.* In nomine. Gratias ago.

<sup>2</sup> *Sar.* 35 and *Ebor.* 17, 32 have the first only of these devotions to St Erasmus (fo. 76<sup>b</sup>) ; 17 (lf. lxxxiii.) ‘A prayer to saynt Herasmus.’

<sup>3</sup> *Herasme* : 17, 32.

<sup>4</sup> *aduersari* : 17.

<sup>5</sup> insert ‘et,’ 17, 32.

<sup>6</sup> ‘I promise thee, and all people that think upon thy great pain, and call upon thy holy name, and thee sue and worship every Sunday, what they ask of me in thy name for the weal of their souls, I shall grant it.’ *Life of St Erasmus* inserted in Caxton’s 2nd edition of the *Golden Legend*, 1487.

<sup>7</sup> omit ‘omni’ : 32.

<sup>8</sup> *perficiat* : 32.



omnes in confessione et<sup>1</sup> oratione, vel consanguinitate coniunctos, et omnes actus meos, vt viuant<sup>2</sup> omni prosperitate, pace et gaudio, nunc et imperpetuum. Amen.

<sup>3</sup>V. Ora pro nobis gloriose martyr et pontifex Erasme.

R. Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.

Oremus.

Deus, qui beatum Erasmus, martyrem tuum gloriosum atque pontificem verum, tormentis ereptum angelico pane saciasti; tribue, quesumus, vt eius meritis et precibus a cunctis hostibus corporis et anime liberemur. Per.

Domine Deus, Pater gloriose, celestis salus et veritas, qui es trinus et vnus in carnis<sup>4</sup> virtute et salute maiestatis†, gloriosus martyr tuus et pontifex vniuersorum tormentorum genera inimicorum suorum superauit, fac me eius meritis et intercessionibus insidias superare et a paupertate mea, quam sustineo propter innumerabilia<sup>5</sup> peccata mea, et a morte perpetua merear liberari<sup>6</sup>. Per<sup>7</sup>.

❧ *Commemoratio de sancto Sebastiano*<sup>8</sup>.

Sancte Sebastiane,  
Semper vespere et mane,  
horis cunctis et momentis,  
dum adhuc sum sane mentis,  
protege me et conserua,  
et a me, martyr, enerua  
infirmitem noxiam,  
vocatam epidimiam.  
tu de peste huiusmodi  
me defende et custodi  
et omnes inimicos<sup>9</sup> meos,  
qui nos confitemur reos  
Deo, et sancte Marie,  
et tibi, o martyr pie.  
tu, Mediolanus ciuis,  
hanc pestilentiam, si vis,  
potes facere cessare,  
et a Deo impetrare :

<sup>1</sup> omit. 'et': 32.

Mr Hoskins finds this devotion to St Erasmus, among the primers, first in the W. de Worde fragment of 1494, at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. Cf. H. Bradshaw's *Collected Papers*, pp. 351, 429.

<sup>2</sup> veniant enim†: 17. viam cum: 32.

<sup>3-6</sup> 'Pater noster. Ave Maria gratia plena. Credo in Deum': 17.

<sup>4</sup> carnis: 36; *leg. forsan*, 'cuius' (H. A. W.). <sup>5</sup> innumeabilia†: 36.

<sup>6</sup> liberare†: 36.

<sup>7</sup> The York portion of the MS. Horae at Steeple Ashton Vicarage has instead of the foregoing (A. fo. 111<sup>b</sup>), 'A prayer to S. Erasme. Sancte Erasme martyr Christi preciose,' &c.

<sup>8</sup> MS. A. fo. 112<sup>b</sup> has 'De sancto Sebastiano Ant. O quam gloriosa refulsit. V. Ora pro nobis b. martir Sebastiane. [R.] Ut mereamur pestem epydimie illesi transire, et promissionem Christi obtinere. Or. Deus, qui b. Sebastianum gloriosum martyrum tuum in tua,' &c. Similarly, 17 (lf. lxxiii. verso), reading 'R. Vt digni mereamur,' &c. <sup>9</sup> inimicos: 36; *legendum videtur* 'amicos' (H. A. W.).

quia a multis es scitum,  
 quod de hoc habes meritum.  
 Zoe mutam tu sanasti,  
 et sanatam restaurasti  
 Nicostrato, huius viro<sup>1</sup>,  
 hoc faciens modo miro :  
 in agone confortabas  
 martyres, et promittebas  
 eis sempiternam vitam  
 et martyribus debitam.  
 O martyr Sebastiane,  
 tu semper nobiscum mane,  
 atque per tua merita  
 nos, qui sumus in hac vita,  
 custodi, sana et rege,  
 et a peste nos protege,  
 presentans nos Trinitati  
 et virgini, sancte matri ;  
 et sic vitam finiamus,  
 et mer[ce]dem habeamus,  
 et martyrum consortium,  
 et Deum videre pium.

[*Antiphona.*]<sup>2</sup>

O quam mira<sup>3</sup> refulsit gratia  
 sanctus Sebastianus martyr inclitus<sup>4</sup>,  
 qui militis portans insignia,  
 sed de fratrum palma sollicitus,  
 confortauit corda pauentia<sup>5</sup>  
 verbo sibi collato celitus.

*Versus.* Ora pro nobis, sancte Sebastiane.

*R.* Ut mereamur<sup>6</sup> pestem epidimie illesi pertransire, et promissionem Christi obtinere.

*Oratio.*

**O**mnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui meritis beati Sebastiani gloriosi<sup>7</sup> martyris tui quendam generalem pestem hominibus mortiferam reuocasti : presta supplicibus tuis, vt quicumque hanc orationem legerit, ac portauerit, vel in domibus<sup>8</sup> habuerit, aut memoriam de eo agens in

<sup>1</sup> Zoe and Nicostratus are still mentioned in the 5th Respond at Mattins and the Antiphons iii-v at lauds on Jan. 20th although the legend referring to them was no longer read in full in the Sarum breviary. The history may be found in Caxton's *Golden Legend* (Temple Classics) ii. 237-42.

<sup>2</sup> *Sar.* 35 (which does not contain the rude metre "S. Sebastiane, semper vespere et mane," &c.) has the concluding sentence "O quam...celitus" but gives it as an individual *antiphon* ; and so we here distinguish it. So also, *Ebor.*

<sup>3</sup> quam gloriosa : *Ebor.* 17 (lf. lxxiii.), *Sar.* 35-6.

<sup>4</sup> dei† martyr incolytus : 17 (omitting 'sanctus').

<sup>5</sup> conforta me† corde pauimentia† : 36 (*Ebor.*). confortauit corda pallentia : *Ebor.* 17, *Sar.* 35.

<sup>7</sup> beate sebastiane gloriose† : 36.

<sup>6</sup> *R.* Ut digni† mereamur : 17.  
<sup>8</sup> dominibus† : 36.

tuo nomine, pro simili peste reuocanda ad te confugerit, ipsius meritis et precibus ab ipsa peste epidimie, et ab omni tribulatione liberemur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

¶ *Commemoratio de sancto Rocho*<sup>1</sup>.

\* **O** BEATE confessor Roche, quam magna apud Deum sunt merita tua, quibus credimus nos a morbo epidimie posse liberari, et aeris temperiem concedi<sup>2</sup>. \* *Sig. Eborum R.*

V. Ora pro nobis, beate Roche.

R. Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.

Sacro munere satiati<sup>3</sup>, supplices te, Domine, deprecamur vt quod debite seruitutis celebramus officio, intercedente beato Rocho confessore tuo, saluationis tue sentiamus augmentum. Per Dominum nostrum.

¶ *Commemoratio de sancto Georgio.*

**G**eorgie<sup>4</sup> martyr inclite,  
te decet laus et gloria  
predotatum milicia:  
per quem puella regia,  
existens in tristitia,  
coram dracone pessimo  
te rogamus<sup>5</sup> corde intimo  
saluata<sup>6</sup> est et Domino<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Woodcut ( $1\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{7}{8}$  in.). St Rock, and the angel healing his thigh. The dog with bread in its mouth. *Sar.* has a different devotion to St Rock on fo. 76 which has the same collect as *A.* (Ebor.). *MS. A.* (Steeple Ashton) has (after Erasmus and Sebastian) commemorations of SS. Christopher, Antony, and the Joys of the B. Virgin. Then as follows (fo. 117):

"¶ *Who so euer sayth his prayer folowyng in y<sup>e</sup> worshyp of Gode and sant Roche shall not dye of y<sup>e</sup> pestilence by the grace of God.* Raphael archangelus ad beatum Rochum.

*Ant.* Confessor Dei venerande, obtinuit in celis deprecacio tua, vt qui deinceps in afflictione [sua] deuote ad te clamauerint, ab omni epydimie ac pestis periculo tuis meritis protinus liberentur.

V. Ora pro nobis beate Roche.

[R.] Ut digni [efficiamur promissionibus Christi].

[Oremus.]

*Oratio.* Omnipotens sempiternus Deus, qui, precibus et meritis beatissimi Rochi confessoris tui, quandam pestem hominibus generalem reuocasti; [fo. 118] presta supplicibus tuis, vt, qui pro simili peste reuocanda ['ad ipsum' *add. Sar.*] sub tua confidunt ['confugiunt' *Sar.*] fiducia, ipsius gloriosi confessoris tui precamine, ab ipsa peste \* epydimie et ab omni perturbatione liberentur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen." (And herewith the York portion of *MS. A.* ends:—fo. 118<sup>b</sup>, together with the lower part of 118<sup>a</sup>, being left blank.)

<sup>2</sup> concede†: 36.

<sup>3</sup> sacra†: 36.

<sup>4</sup> Georgi: *Sar.*

<sup>5</sup> regnas†: 36.

<sup>6</sup> saluta†: 36.

<sup>7</sup> domina: 36; animo: *Sar.*, which arranges the lines thus:

'saluata est, et animo  
te rogamus corde intimo:  
vt cum cunctis fidelibus  
celi iungamur ciuibus' &c. (fo. 71).

\* gloriosi confessoris precibus a peste: 32.

se reddidit altissimo  
cum multis fidelibus.  
fac ergo sic, vt ciuibus  
tu nos iungas celestibus,  
nostris<sup>1</sup> ablutis sordibus  
vt simul cum leticia  
tecum simus<sup>2</sup> in gloria,  
nostraque reddant labia  
laudes Christo cum gratia.

*Versus.* Ora pro nobis, beate martyr Georgij.

*R.* Ut hostes visibiles et inuisibiles contra nos sint valde debiles.

**O**mnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui deprecantium voces benigne exaudis, maiestatem tuam supplices exoramus, vt sicut in honore beati [ac] gloriosi<sup>3</sup> martyris tui Georgij draconem a puella superari<sup>4</sup> voluisti, ita eiusdem intercessione hostes nostros visibiles et inuisibiles, ne nocere nobis valeant, precedere† digneris<sup>5</sup>. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

¶ *Commemoratio de sancto Christoforo*<sup>6</sup>.

**S**ANCTE Christofore,  
martyr Jesu Christi,  
qui pro eius nomine  
penas pertulisti,  
opem confer miseris  
atque mundo tristi,  
qui celestis<sup>7</sup> glorie  
regna meruisti.

Christofori sancti speciem quicumque tuetur,  
illo nempe die nullo languore tenetur.

[*Antiphona.*]<sup>8</sup>

Martyr Christofore, pro Saluatoris honore,  
fac nos mente fore dignos Deitatis amore.  
Promisso<sup>9</sup> Christi quia que petis<sup>10</sup> obtinuisti :  
da populo tristi bona<sup>11</sup> que moriendo petisti :  
confer solamen : et mentis tolle grauamen :  
Judicis examen fac mite sit omnibus. amen.

*Versus*<sup>12</sup>. Gloria et honore coronasti eum, Domine.

*R.* Et constituisti eum super opera manuum tuarum.

<sup>1</sup> nostras†: 36.

<sup>2</sup> sumus†: 36.

<sup>3</sup> beati† gloriosi: 36; beati ac gloriosissimi: *Sar.*

<sup>4</sup> superare: 36.

<sup>5</sup> valeant, a nobis superari concedas: *Sar.*

<sup>6</sup> Woodcut (1½ × 1¼ in.) of St Christopher.

<sup>7</sup> celis: 36.

<sup>8</sup> *Sar.* begins at this point (fo. 70-71) as *Antiphona*. So also MS. A. (Ebor.) fo. 113<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> promissio†: 36.

<sup>10</sup> petisti†: 36; quod petis: 17, lf. lxxiii., b.

<sup>11</sup> bono†: 36.

<sup>12</sup> V. Ora pro nobis. [R.] Ut digni: A., Ebor. 17.

Oremus.

Concede, quesumus, omnipotens et misericors Deus, vt qui beati Christofori martyris tui memoriam agimus eius pijs meritis et intercessionibus a morte perpetua et subitanea, a peste<sup>2</sup>, fame, timore<sup>3</sup>, paupertate et ab omnibus insidijs inimicorum nostrorum<sup>4</sup> liberemur in terris<sup>5</sup>. Per te Jesu Christe, Saluator mundi<sup>6</sup>, quem Christoforus<sup>7</sup> meruit in humeris<sup>8</sup> suis portare. Qui viuus [et regnas Deus Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.]

¶ *Oratio de sancto Anthonio.*[*Antiphona.*]<sup>9</sup>

ANTHONI pastor inclite,  
qui cruciatos reficis,  
morbos sanas et destruis,  
ignis calorem extinguis:  
pie pater, ad Dominum  
ora pro nobis miseris.

V. Ora pro nobis, beate pater Anthoni.

R. Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.

*Oratio.*

Deus, qui concedis obtentu beati Anthoni confessoris tui morbidum dignem extingui, et membris egris refrigeria prestari<sup>10</sup>: fac nos, quesumus, ipsius meritis et precibus a gehenne incendijs liberatos integros mente et corpore tibi feliciter in gloria presentari. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

¶ *Commemoratio de sancto Henrico*<sup>11</sup>.

Rex Henricus pauperum et ecclesie defensor ad misericordiam semper pronus, in charitate feruidus, pietate deditus, clarum decorauit quem Deus magnis virtutibus, et miraculis mirabiliter in populo suo Anglorum<sup>12</sup> beatificauit.

V. Ora pro nobis, deuote princeps Henrice.

R. Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.

<sup>1-2</sup> a more† perpetua subitane† a peste: 36.<sup>3</sup> timore et tempestate, clade et: *Sar.*<sup>5</sup> omit 'in terris': *Sar.*<sup>7</sup> ipse: *Sar.*<sup>4</sup> nostrorum insidijs: *Sar.*<sup>6</sup> rex glorie: *add. Sar.*<sup>8</sup> brachijs: *Sar.*<sup>9</sup> *Ant.* O Antoni: *Sar.*, MS. A. (York) fo. 114<sup>b</sup>; *Fbor.* 36 has woodcut (1 $\frac{1}{16}$  × 1 $\frac{3}{8}$  in.) of St Antony and his pig.<sup>10</sup> refrigeriam prestare†: 36.<sup>11</sup> A different suffrage in honour of K. Henry VI. occurs in the York Horae of 1517 (fo. lxxxii.) and in the 'Fifteen Oes and other Prayers' of 1490-91, *etc.*, '*Ant.* Rex Henricus, sis amicus, *etc.* V. Ora p. n., deuote rex Henrice: R. Ut per te cuncti superati sint inimici. Or. Præsta *etc.* ut qui deuotissimi regis.' See W. Maskell, *Mon. Rit.* iii. 369. There is also a prayer (Domine J. C., qui me creasti), 'the qwhice kyng Henry the vi. made,' in *Sar.* 1494.<sup>12</sup> angelorum: 36.



*Oratio.*

Deus, sub cuius ineffabili providentia vniuersi reges regnant et imperant, qui deuotissimum regem Henricum Angelorum<sup>1</sup> regem, in charitate feruidum, miseris, afflictis et male habentibus semper compassum, omni bonitate innocenciaque conspicuum<sup>2</sup>: vt pie creditur, inter angelos collocare dignatus es: concede propicius, vt, ipso cum omnibus sanctis interuenientibus, hostium nostrorum superbia tollerat morbos†, et<sup>3</sup> omne quod malum est a nobis procul pellatur, palma donetur et gratia sancti Spiritus nobis misericordiam tuam poscentibus semper adesse dignetur. Qui viuus et regnas Deus. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

¶ *Quedam deuotissima contemplatio beate Marie virginis, iuxta crucem Filij sui lachrymantis, et ad compassionem Saluatoris compendiose singulos inuitantis.*

STABAT Mater dolorosa,  
 Iuxta crucem lachrymosa:  
 dum pendebat Filius.  
 Cuius animam gementem,  
 contristantem et dolentem,  
 pertransiuit gladius.  
 O quam tristis et afflicta  
 fuit illa benedicta  
 Mater vni geniti.  
 Que merebat et dolebat  
 et tremebat cum videbat  
 Nati penas incliti.  
 Quis est homo qui non fletet,  
 Christi matrem si videret  
 in tanto supplicio?  
 Quis posset non contristari,  
 piam matrem contemplari:  
 dolentem cum Filio?  
 Pro peccatis sue gentis  
 vidit Jesum in tormentis:  
 et flagellis subditum.  
 Vidit suum dulcem Natum,  
 morientem, desolatum,  
 dum emisit spiritum.  
 Eya mater, fons amoris,  
 me sentire vim doloris:  
 fac, vt tecum lugeam.  
 Fac vt ardeat cor meum,  
 in amando Christum Deum:  
 vt sibi complaceam.

<sup>1</sup> angelorum†: 36.

<sup>2</sup> in mencia† que conspicuum†: 36.

<sup>3</sup> legendum videtur tollatur, morbus et: ex conjectura viri reu. R. B. Luard-Selby, A. M.

<sup>4</sup> Woodcut ( $1\frac{1}{4} \times \frac{1}{6}$  in.) of the Crucifix, Mary and John. It appears to be the same as that at p. 82 above. There is a larger cut of the scene of the Crucifixion at p. 141.

Sancta mater, istud agas,  
 Crucifixi fige plagas  
 cordi meo valide.  
 Tui Nati vulnerati  
 iam dignantis pro me pati :  
 penas mecum<sup>1</sup> diuide.

Fac me vere tecum flere,  
 Crucifixo condolere,  
 donec ego vixero.  
 Juxta crucem tecum stare,  
 te libenter sociare  
 in planctu<sup>2</sup> desidero.

Virgo virginum preclara,  
 michi iam non sis amara :  
 fac me tecum plangere.  
 Fac vt portem Christi mortem,  
 passionis eius sortem :  
 et plagas recolere.

Fac me plagis vulnerari,  
 cruce hac inebriari :  
 ob amorem Filij.  
 Inflammatus et accensus,  
 per te, virgo, sim defensus :  
 in die iudicij.

Fac me cruce custodiri,  
 morte Christi premuniri,  
 confoueri gratia.  
 Quando corpus morietur  
 fac vt anime donetur  
 paradisi gloria. Amen.

*Versus.* <sup>3</sup>In omni tribulatione et angustia nostra.

*R.* Succurre nobis, sanctissima virgo Maria.

*Oratio.*

**A**d iuuat nos, quesumus, Domine Deus, et beate Marie semper virginis  
 intercessio reuerenda<sup>4</sup>, vt a cunctis periculis absolutos in tua faciat  
 pace gaudere. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> pro me: 16 (fo. 191<sup>b</sup>).

<sup>2</sup> plantu: 36.

<sup>3</sup> *Sar.* has (on fo. 49-50) with *Ebor.* 1517 (fo. 45) a different *V.* and *R.* and Orison. (*V.* Tuam ipsius animam doloris gladius pertransiuit. *R.* Ut reuelentur ex multis cordibus cogitationes. Oremus. Interueniat pro nobis, &c.) So *Ebor.* 1516 (*only reading* 'pertransibit'), fo. 191<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> reuerenda†: 36.

- ¶ This prayer shewed our lady to<sup>1</sup> a deuoute persone<sup>2</sup>, sayenge that this golden prayer is the moost swetest and acceptablest to me. And in her apperyng she had this salutacyon and prayer written with letters of golde on her brest<sup>3</sup>.

4 AVE rosa sine spinis,  
tu quam Pater in diuinis  
maiestate sublimauit  
et ab omni ve<sup>5</sup> purgauit.

Maria, stella dicta maris;  
tuo Nato illustraris :  
luce clara deitatis :  
qua prefulges cunctis datis<sup>6</sup>.

Gratia plena te perfecit,  
Spiritus sanctus, dum te fecit  
vas diuine bonitatis,  
et totius pietatis.

Dominus tecum miro pacto,  
verbo vite carne facto,  
opere trini Conditoris,  
o quam dulce vas amoris.

Benedicta tu in mulieribus<sup>7</sup>,  
hoc testatur omnis tribus :  
celi fantur te beatam,  
super omnes exaltatam.

Et benedictus fructus ventris tui,  
quo nos dona semper frui,  
per pregustum hic internum,  
et post mortem in eternum.

Hunc, virgo<sup>8</sup>, salutis sensum,  
tue lau\*dis gratum pensum,  
Corde† tuo<sup>9</sup> sinu pia  
clemens sume<sup>10</sup>, o Maria. Amen.

Pater noster.

Aue Maria, gratia.

[Credo in Deum.]

<sup>1</sup> too; Ebor. 17.

<sup>2</sup> parson: Ebor. 17; person: Sar. 23.

<sup>3</sup> on her brist: Sar.

<sup>4</sup> One leaf (R. 4) is unfortunately cut out in the unique copy of 1536 (Ebor.) now at Lincoln. We have attempted here (pp. 136-7) to supply the deficiency from the corresponding context of Ebor. 1517-18, ff. xxviii-ix. 'Ave rosa sine spinis' supplied a motto for coins of Henry VIII. 'Ave Maria, Ancilla S. Trinitatis' is found in the earlier York editions of 1516 and 1517. Cf. Hoskins, *Primers*, pp. 131, 389.

<sup>5</sup> ve: cf. 'Sumens illud Ave, Tanquam procul a Vae.' (Mone, *Hymn. Med. Aevi*, ii. 216.) <sup>6</sup> natis: Mone, ii. p. 111. <sup>7</sup> muneribus†: 17 (lf. xxxviii, verso).

<sup>8</sup> Hunc† salutis censum: 17; Hunc, virgo, salutis sensum: Sar.; Amen. Hunc s. c. (Mone.) <sup>9</sup> Leg. Conde tuo. <sup>10</sup> dulcis: Mone.

¶ *Hoo that sayth deuoutely thys shorte prayer dayly, shalle nott depart owte of thys worlde wytheowt penauince and mynystrayyon of the holy sacremente: the whyche was showed by an angelle onto saynt Bernarde<sup>1</sup>.*

**A**VE Maria, ancilla sancte Trinitatis.

Aue Maria, filia sempiterni Patris<sup>2</sup>.

Aue Maria, sponsa Spiritus sancti.

Aue Maria, mater Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

Aue Maria, soror angelorum.

Aue Maria, promissio prophetarum.

Aue Maria, regina patriarcharum.

Aue Maria, magistra euangelistarum.

Aue Maria, doctrix apostolorum.

Aue Maria, confortatrix martyrum.

Aue Maria, fons et pulchritudo<sup>3</sup> confessorum.

Aue Maria, decus et corona virginum.

Aue Maria, salus et consolatrix<sup>4</sup> viuorum et mortuorum.

Mecum sis in omnibus tentationibus<sup>5</sup>, tribulationibus, necessitatibus, angustijs et infirmitatibus meis. Et impetra michi veniam omnium delictorum meorum: et maxime in hora exitus mei non desis michi: o pijssima virgo Maria. Amen.<sup>6</sup>

Pater noster. Aue Maria, gratia plena.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Hoskins cites '*Aue Maria, ancilla S. Trinitatis humilissima*†' under the title "Oratio de beata virgine Maria" as occurring first (among printed *Horae*) in the York *Horae* of 1516. *Primers*, pp. 131, 389.

<sup>2</sup> *Sar.* 1523 (lf. cxxvii.), *Sar.* 1535-6 omit the second line 'Aue Maria, filia sempiterni Patris.'

<sup>3</sup> plenitudo: *Sar.* 35-6.

<sup>4</sup> consolatrix: 16, 17; confortatrix: *Sar.* 23, 35.

<sup>5</sup> temptationibus: 16, *Sar.* 23.

<sup>6</sup> The 'Aue Maria, ancilla Trinitatis' comes also in a longer and rather different form, each line ending with an epithet (as in *Sarum*, 1536) in the York editions of 1516, 1517, as follows:

¶ *Thys prayer was shewyd to saynt Bernarde by the messanger of God, saynge that as holde [leg. golde] is moste precyous of al other metell, so exsedeth thys prayer all other prayers; and hoo that deuoutly sayth hyt scall haue a synglare rewarde of our blessyd lady and her swete son Jesus.*

¶ *Oratio de beata virgine Maria.*

**A**ue Maria, ancilla Trinitatis humilima.

Aue Maria, preelecta Dei Patris filia sublimissima.

Aue Maria sponsa Spiritussancti amabilissima.

Aue Ma<sup>r</sup>ia, mater Domini nostri Jesu Christi dignissima.

Aue Maria, soror angelorum pulcherrima.

Aue Maria, promissio ‡ prophetarum desideratissima.

Aue Maria, regina patriarcharum gloriosissima.

Aue Maria, magistra euangelistarum veracissima.

Aue Maria, doctrix apostolorum sapientissima.

Aue Maria, confortatrix martyrum validissima.

Aue Maria, fons et plenitudo confessorum suauissima.

Aue Maria, honor et festiuitas virginum iocundissima.

Aue Maria, consolatrix viuorum et mortuorum promptissima: mecum sis in omnibus tribulationibus et angustijs meis materna pietate: et in hora mortis mee suscipe animam meam, et offer illam dulcissimo Filio tuo Jesu: cum omnibus qui se nostris commendauerunt orationibus. Amen. Pater noster. Aue...tecum.

Credo in Deum.

Credo in Spiritum sanctum, sanctam ecclesiam &c. ‡ prophetissa: *Sar.* 1535-6.

¶ *Our holy father Bonifacius pope of Rome hath graunted vnto all them that say devoutly thys prayer .C. days<sup>1</sup> of pardon<sup>2</sup>.*

**A**VE Maria, alta stirps lilij castitatis.

Aue profunda viola vallis humilitatis.

Aue lata rosa campi diuine charitatis.

Aue abyssalis fons omnis gratie et misericordie, celi ros fructifer omnis diuine suauitatis et deuotionis. Amen.

Pater noster. Aue Maria.

¶ *Another deuoute prayer to our blessyd lady.*

*Oratio<sup>3</sup>.*

**O** Domina glorie,  
o regina leticie,  
o fons pietatis,  
o vena misericordie,  
o sanctitatis libertas,  
o iocunditatis amenitas,  
o splendor celi,  
o dulcedo paradisi,  
o domina angelorum,  
o sanctorum leticia,  
o virginum gemma,  
o felix et beata,

tibi, domina mea virgo Maria, hodie commendo totum corpus et animam meam: et totam vitam meam: quinque sensus corporis mei: omnia facta mea: mortem meam cum sis benedicta in eternum et vltra: cum Filio tuo Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto viuit et regnat in secula seculorum. Amen.

Pater noster.

Aue Maria.

¶ *A deuout prayer of the .vij. sorowes of oure blessyd ladye.*

**A**VE dulcis mater Christi:

que dolebas corde tristi,

te docente Symeone,

de dire mortis mucrone.

Sis memor huius doloris:

nunc et omnibus [in]<sup>4</sup> horis,

fac me pie memorari

penam mortis tui chari.

Aue Maria [gratia plena, Dominus tecum].

<sup>1</sup> fifty days of pardon: Sar. 1510. hundred† days: Sar. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Here the lacuna in the Lincoln copy of 1536 ends, and the text proceeds, after the rubric, which (doubtless) stood at the head of sig. R. 5, where a narrow strip has been cut away.

<sup>3</sup> 'O domina glorie' is found in the 4<sup>o</sup> Sarum *Horae* of 1511. Also in *Hor. Ebor.* 1517, 1536.

<sup>4</sup> et omnibus: 36; et in omnibus: Sar. 23, and *Ebor.* 17.



Aue dulcis mater Christi :  
 que in Egyptum fugisti,  
 flens ibi notis carebas :  
 et labore tabescebas :  
 Nunc, queso, sis exilij  
 tui memor ac Filij :  
 da te<sup>1</sup> michi et Filium  
 tuum post hoc exilium.

Aue Maria.

Aue dulcis mater Christi,  
 que dolebas corde tristi,  
 Natum requirens<sup>2</sup> inclytum,  
 tribus diebus perditum.  
 Pro hac tua mesticia,  
 fac me in eius gratia  
 inuentum per te pleniter,  
 perseuerare iugiter.

Aue Maria.

Aue dulcis mater Christi :  
 que dolens et flens vidisti  
 captum, vinctum, dire cesum,  
 plenum probris dulcem Jesum.  
 Huius memor tristicie,  
 mater misericordie,  
 a demonij<sup>3</sup> insidijs  
 serua me, et ab opprobrijs<sup>4</sup>.

Aue [Maria].

Aue dulcis mater Christi,  
 que dolens et flens vidisti  
 cruci nexum<sup>5</sup> speciosum  
 Jesum, factum ceu<sup>6</sup> leprosum,  
 Per dolorem hunc tam fortem,  
 et per Nati tui mortem,  
 in hora mortis vltima  
 assis michi, carissima.

Aue Maria.

Aue dulcis mater Christi,  
 que de cruce suscepisti  
 vlnis Jesum iam mortuum,  
 piorum plena<sup>7</sup> fletuum<sup>7</sup>  
 me vlnis tue clementie  
 foueto, mater gratie,  
 cum omnibus fidelibus  
 solamina<sup>8</sup> poscentibus.

Aue Maria, gratia.

<sup>1</sup> dare te: 36; date: Sar. 23.

<sup>3</sup> demonis: Sar. Ebor. 17.

<sup>5</sup> nexu: 17. Sar. 23 (lf. xliiii.).

<sup>7</sup> pleno† fletuum: 36; plena fetuum†: Sar. 35.

<sup>2</sup> requerens†: 36.

<sup>4</sup> opprobrijs†: 36.

<sup>6</sup> seu: Sar.

<sup>8</sup> solennia: Sar.

Aue, que post mortem Christi,  
dolendo sepe<sup>1</sup> vidisti  
cuncta loca martyrij,  
eius plena suspyrij.  
Ob penas quas suscepas  
ista loca cum videras,  
Da sic<sup>2</sup> post transitoria  
michi locum in gloria.  
In honore nunc tantorum  
ceterorumque dolorum  
quos pro Nato, corde tristi,  
virgo vnquam pertulisti  
meam tibi miseriam  
committens serua animam:  
semperque sis doloribus  
dulcis adiutrix omnibus.

O clemens, O pia,  
O dulcis virgo Maria. [Amen.]

Pater noster, qui es in celis. [Sanctificetur nomen tuum...&c. Et ne nos. Sed libera.]

Aue Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum<sup>3</sup>. [Benedicta tu.] *et cetera.*

¶ *Sequitur oratio deuotissima de septem  
verbis que<sup>4</sup> Dominus Jesus in cruce pendens  
dixit. Et quicumque eam deuote quotidie  
dixerit genibus flexis non morietur sine  
confessione, nullus hostis visibilis neque in-  
uisibilis ei nocere poterit illa  
die: et gloriosissimam vir-  
ginem Mariam vide-  
bit ante diem exi-  
tus sui in auxi-  
lium sibi<sup>5</sup>.*

<sup>1</sup> sede: 17.

<sup>2</sup> omit. 'sic': Sar. 35; habet, Sar. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Sar. 35 add. 'Credo in vnum.'

<sup>4</sup> qui†: 36.

<sup>5</sup> This rubric, with the prayer following, occurs also in the Sarum *Horae* of 1503, printed by W. de Worde. In the 4<sup>th</sup> of 1535-6 it is ascribed to "the worshypfully† saint Beda" (fo. 61). So also in *Ebor.* 17 (lf. lxi.).

Woodcut (2 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 1 $\frac{3}{8}$  in.), rudely drawn, of the scene of the Crucifixion.

Before the prayer of the Seven Words the 16<sup>th</sup> of 1532 has (besides the suffrage of St William) near the close of the book:

**A** Ve domina sancta Maria, mater Dei, regina celi, porta paradisi, domina mundi, lux sempiterna, imperatrix inferni, singularis et pura, tu es virgo, tu concepisti Jesum Christum sine peccato, tu peperisti creatorem, redemptorem, ac saluatorem mundi, in quo non dubito: ora pro me Jesum dilectum Filium tuum, et libera me ab omnibus malis, et ora pro peccatis meis. Amen.

(Mr Hoskins notices this as occurring also in W. de Worde's Sarum 12<sup>th</sup>, long 12<sup>th</sup>, July 24, 1514.) Is it found also with a different opening? The Sarum form has an indulgence of 11,000 years, and promises further that the Blessed Virgin will appear for a number of days before the reciter's death, equal to the number of years during which he has made a practice of repeating this devotion. Hoskins' *Primer*, p. 130.

**D**OMINE Jesu Christe qui septem verba in ultimo [die]<sup>1,2</sup> vite tue in cruce pendens dixisti, <sup>3</sup>et voluisti<sup>4</sup> vt semper illa verba sacratissima in memoriam haberemus; Rogo te per virtutem illorum [septem] verborum vt michi parcas, quicquid ego<sup>5</sup> peccaui aut commisi de<sup>6</sup> septem peccatis mortalibus, [aut ex illis procedentibus] scilicet de<sup>5</sup> superbia, inuidia, ira, accidia, luxuria, auaritia, gula<sup>7</sup>.

Domine, sicut tu dixisti, Pater, ignosce crucifigentibus [me]: fac me<sup>8</sup> amore tuo vt parcam omnino<sup>5</sup> cunctis michi mala facientibus.

Domine, sicut tu dixisti latroni: Hodie mecum eris in paradiso. Fac me ita viuere, vt in hora mortis mee<sup>5</sup> dicas michi<sup>5</sup>, Hodie mecum eris in paradiso<sup>9</sup>.

Domine, sicut tu dixisti matri tue, Mulier, ecce filius tuus. Deinde dixisti<sup>10</sup> discipulo [tuo]: Ecce mater tua: fac vt matri tue me societ amor tuus et charitas tua.

Domine, sicut tu dixisti: Hely, Hely, lamazabatani<sup>11</sup>, quod significat, Deus meus, Deus meus, vt quid dereliquisti me: fac me dicere in omni tempore tribulacionis et angustie mee: Pater [mi]<sup>2</sup>, miserere mei peccatoris: [et]<sup>2</sup> adiua me Rex meus et Deus meus, qui me proprio sanguine redemisti<sup>12</sup>.

Domine, sicut tu dixisti, Sitio: scilicet salutem animarum sanctarum que in limbo fuerunt<sup>13</sup>, aduentum tuum expectantes<sup>14</sup>: fac vt ego<sup>15</sup> semper sitiam te<sup>16</sup>, diligam te fontem<sup>17</sup> aque viuentis, fontem<sup>17</sup> eterni luminis, toto desiderio cordis<sup>18</sup> ad amandum te.

Domine, et<sup>19</sup> sicut tu dixisti: Pater, in manus tuas commendo spiritum meum: fac<sup>20</sup> me in obitu meo perfecte viuere, vt possim tibi dicere, In manus tuas<sup>21</sup>, Domine<sup>22</sup>, commendo spiritum meum: recipe me venientem ad te: quia nunc contulisti tempus meum<sup>23</sup>.

Domine, et sicut tu dixisti: Consummatum est: quod significat dolores et labores<sup>24</sup>, quos pro nobis miseris peccatoribus sustinuisti<sup>25</sup>, iam finiri: fac vt audire merear illam dulcissimam vocem tuam<sup>26</sup>: Veni, amica mea, et dilecta [mea], quia iam disposui petitiones<sup>27</sup> tuas consummare<sup>27</sup>; veni, mecum vt sedeas cum angelis meis, et sanctis in<sup>28</sup> regno

<sup>1</sup> verba ultimo die: 17.

<sup>2</sup> add. 17, Sar.

<sup>3-4</sup> omitt. 17, Ebor. 35-6; mox 'sacratissima verba...habeamus' 17, Sar.

<sup>5</sup> om. 17.

<sup>6</sup> in: 17, Sar., 32.

<sup>7</sup> 17, Sar. arrange the order of the deadly sins differently. Also, instead of "Domine," they begin each section "Sicut enim" or "Et sicut."

<sup>8</sup> crucifigentibus me: fac vt: 17, Sar.

<sup>9</sup> in celis: Sar.; in celo: 17.

<sup>10</sup> dixit†: 36.

<sup>11</sup> zabathani hoc est: 17; zabathani quod significat: 32.

<sup>12</sup> quia tuo proprio sanguine redemisti me: 17, Sar.

<sup>13</sup> erant: 17.

<sup>14</sup> expectantium†: 32.

<sup>15</sup> omitt. 'ego': 32.

<sup>16</sup> et: 17.

<sup>17</sup> funtem†: 36.

<sup>18</sup> desidero† cordis: 36; cordis desiderio: 17, Sar.

<sup>19</sup> vt: 32.

<sup>20-21</sup> Fac me vt in obitu meo perfecte et libere possim ego tibi dicere, Pater, in manus tuas: 17.

<sup>22</sup> add. 'Domini': Sar. 35; pater in manus tuas: 17.

<sup>23</sup> nunc constituisti michi terminum temporalis vite mee: 17; nunc constituisti tempus meum: 32.

<sup>24</sup> labores et dolores: 17.

<sup>25</sup> suscipere veneras: 17.

<sup>26</sup> add. 'scilicet': 17.

<sup>27</sup> disposui penurias tuas consummari: 17.

<sup>28</sup> vt mecum sedeas cum sanctis angelis meis: et in: 17.

meo epulari, iocundari, commemorari<sup>1</sup> per infinita seculorum secula.  
Amen.

[Pater noster. Aue Maria.]<sup>2</sup>

¶ *Incipit rosarium beate Marie.*

SUSCIPE rosarium,  
virgo, deauratum  
Jesu per compendium  
vita decoratum.

Aue [Maria, gratia plena, Dominus tecum : benedicta tu in mulieribus  
et benedictus fructus ventris tui Jesus. Amen].

Quem virgo carens vicio  
de Flamine concepisti :  
dum Gabrieli nuncio  
humillime consensisti. Aue.

Quo impregnatam<sup>3</sup> citius  
cognatam visitasti :  
Johannemque celerius  
in ventre sanctificasti. Aue Maria.

Quem ciuitate<sup>4</sup> Bethleem  
letanter<sup>5</sup> genuisti,  
neque dolorem aliquem  
gignendo pertulisti. Aue Maria.

Quem regis David genere  
mox natum adorasti :  
ac vagientem vbere  
virgineo lactasti. Aue Maria.

Quem sui<sup>6</sup> panni fascijs  
contritum<sup>7</sup> reclinasti :  
et suis obsequijs  
te totam mancipasti. Aue Maria.

Quem magno<sup>8</sup> cum tripudio  
angeli laudauerunt :  
pacemque cum gaudio  
in terris cecinerunt. Aue Maria.

Quem Pastorem omnium  
pastores cognouerunt :  
dum in presepe Dominum  
iacentem inuenerunt. Aue Maria.

<sup>1</sup> commorari : 17.

<sup>2</sup> add. Sar.—The 16<sup>o</sup> of cir. 1532 adds here another *Oratio ad beatam Mariam* :  
O Gloriosissima, O optima, o sacratissima, &c. which concludes that book.

<sup>3</sup> impregnata : 16, 36, Sar. 23.

<sup>4</sup> in ciuitate : 36, Sar. 23.

<sup>5</sup> letantur† : 36 ; letando : Sar. and 16.

<sup>6</sup> in† : Sar., 16. panni in : Sar. 23.

<sup>7</sup> constrictum : Sar., 16.

<sup>8</sup> agno : 36.

Qui iuxta ritum hominis  
 passus circumcisionem :  
 dulcis Jesu nominis  
 accepit<sup>1</sup> impositionem. Aue Maria.  
 Qui a tribus regibus  
 feruenter adoratur :  
 magnisque muneribus  
 decenter veneratur. [Pater noster.] Aue.  
 QUEM<sup>2</sup> die quadragesima  
 in templo presentasti :  
 ac Moysi legitima,  
 spontanea subisti<sup>3</sup>. Aue Maria.  
 Quem Herodem fugiens  
 Egypto adduxisti :  
 tandem inde rediens  
 ad Nazareth venisti. Aue Maria.  
 Quem ad festum<sup>4</sup> transiens  
 dolenter perdidisti :  
 sed mox templum audiens<sup>5</sup>  
 gaudenter reperisti. Aue Maria.  
 Quem manuum per opera  
 sollicitè nutri[ui]sti :  
 et in etate tenera  
 in omnibus prouidisti. Aue.  
 Quem Jordanis flumine  
 Johannes baptizauit :  
 et agnoscens nomine  
 digito monstrauit. Aue.  
 Quem Sathanas astutijs<sup>6</sup>  
 tripharie tentauit :  
 sed Saluator versutijs<sup>7</sup>  
 prudenter obuiauit. Aue Maria.  
 Qui tuo pro oraculo  
 aquam in vinum mutauit<sup>8</sup> :  
 in quo suos miraculo  
 discipulos confortauit<sup>9</sup>. Aue Maria.  
 Qui obsessos plurimis<sup>10</sup>  
 demonibus saluauit :  
 ac infirmos varijs  
 languoribus curauit. Aue Maria.

<sup>1</sup> cepit : *Sar.*, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Every tenth stanza or 'Aue' is distinguished in *Sar.* 1535-6 by special rubrication, and by a "Pater noster" prefixed to its "Aue," and it seems convenient to mark them here.

<sup>3</sup> subijsti : *Sar.*, 16.

<sup>4</sup> festa : *Sar.*, 16.

<sup>5</sup> adiens : *Sar.*, 16. *Mox*, 'nutriuiisti' : *Sar.* 23 (lf. clxv.).

<sup>6</sup> astutus : *Sar.*, 16; astatiis† : *Sar.* 23.

<sup>7</sup> versutus : *Sar.*, 16.

<sup>8</sup> mutat : 16, *Sar.* 23. <sup>9</sup> confirmat : 16, *Sar.* 23.

<sup>10</sup> plurimos† : 16.



Qui Lazarum, cum filio  
 vidue, suscitauit:  
 puellam cum prodigio<sup>1</sup>  
 ad vitam reuocauit. Aue Maria.  
 Qui cum peccatoribus  
 frequenter manducauit:  
 hisque penitentibus  
 peccata relaxauit. Pater noster. Aue Maria.  
 Cuius pedes lachrymis  
 peccatrix rigauit<sup>2</sup>:  
 dolensque ex intimis  
 veniam impetrauit. Aue Maria.  
 In monte Thabor<sup>3</sup> deforis  
 qui transfiguratur:  
 et gloriosi corporis  
 maiestas declaratur. Aue Maria.  
 Cum palmis celebriter  
 in urbem quem<sup>4</sup> duxerunt  
 vespere: sed turpiter  
 vacuum dimiserunt. Aue Maria.  
 In cena qui nouissima  
 pedes suorum lauit:  
 escaque nobilissima  
 cum sanguine cibauit. Aue.  
 In orto mente anxia  
 prolixè qui orauit:  
 et aquam, pre tristicia,  
 cum sanguine sudauit. Aue.  
 Quem viri malefici  
 crudeliter vinxerunt<sup>5</sup>:  
 Anneque pontifici  
 ligatum adduxerunt. Aue.  
 Vultum cuius turpibus<sup>6</sup>  
 sputis maculabant:  
 et pugnorum ictibus  
 dure verberabant. Aue Maria.  
 Quem Pylati sedibus  
 damnandum presentabant:  
 atque falsis testibus  
 dolose accusabant. Aue Maria.  
 A Judeis exhibitum  
 Herodes quem immisit<sup>7</sup>:  
 sed per despectum habitum  
 vt fatuum remisit. Aue Maria.

<sup>1</sup> prodigo: Sar.    <sup>2</sup> irrigauit: 16, Sar. 23.    <sup>3</sup> trabor: 36.    <sup>4</sup> quam: Sar.  
<sup>5</sup> vnixerunt†: 36.    <sup>6</sup> turpidibus†: 36.    <sup>7</sup> inuisit: 16, Sar. 23.

Quem indutum purpura<sup>1</sup>  
 columnne alligatum:  
 corona pungit spinea,  
 flagellis verberatum. [Pater noster.] Ave Maria.

QUEM confossum vulneribus  
 mille<sup>2</sup> sub\*sannauerunt:  
 ac Crucifige vocibus  
 Judei clamauerunt<sup>3</sup>. Ave Maria.

\* Sig.  
 (1536)  
 Eborum.S.

Ut<sup>4</sup> reum quem sceleris  
 Pylatus condemnauit:  
 crucis lignum humeris  
 proprijs baiulauit. Ave Maria.

Caluarie quem vestibus  
 loco exuerunt:  
 et manus cum pedibus  
 cruci affixerunt. Ave Maria.

Pro suis tortoribus  
 attente hic precatur<sup>5</sup>:  
 dum crucis doloribus  
 extensus tenebatur. Ave Maria.

Qui latroni omnia  
 crimina dimisit:  
 ac paradisi gaudia  
 illico promisit. Ave Maria.

Qui Johanni discipulo  
 te matrem commendauit:  
 quem tibi in patibulo  
 in filium donauit. Ave Maria.

Qui se relictum omnibus  
 dum Patri querebatur:  
 inimicorum vocibus  
 turpiter blasphematur. Ave Maria.

Qui dum exhaustis viribus  
 Sitio cantauit<sup>6</sup>:  
 fel et acetum faucibus  
 miles propinauit. Ave Maria.

Qui prophetarum edita<sup>7</sup>  
 consummans passione:  
 primi parentis debita  
 persoluit ratione. Ave Maria.

<sup>1</sup> purpurea : 36.

<sup>2</sup> conclamauerunt: 36.

<sup>6</sup> clamauit : Sar., 16.

<sup>2</sup> milites : Sar., 16.

<sup>4</sup> Et: Sar.

<sup>7</sup> editha†: 36.

<sup>5</sup> predicabatur: 36.

*In manus Patris tradidit*  
*spiritum preciosum:*  
*alta voce dum edidit*  
*canticum dulcorosum*<sup>1</sup>. *Pater noster. Aue.*  
*Crucis mortem subiens*  
*in pace obdormiuit:*  
*electos eripiens*  
*infernum introiuit. Aue.*  
*Satelles latus Domini*  
*lancea perforauit:*  
*hinc aqua iuncta sanguini*  
*abunde emanauit*<sup>2</sup>. *Aue Maria.*  
*Cuius corpus sanctissimum*  
*de cruce receperunt:*  
*et sepulchrum mundissimum*  
*eidem aptauerunt. Aue Maria*<sup>3</sup>.  
*Qui virtute propria*  
*a mortuis*<sup>4</sup> *resurrexit:*  
<sup>5</sup>*atque a tristicia*  
*discipulos*<sup>6</sup> *erexit. Aue.*  
*Super celorum sydera*<sup>7</sup>  
*ascendit virtuose:*  
*atque in Patris dextera*  
*residet gloriose. Aue Maria.*  
*Qui Penthecostes in*<sup>8</sup> *die*  
*Spiritum sanctum misit:*  
*apostolis pre pignore*<sup>9</sup>  
*sicut ante*<sup>10</sup> *promisit. Aue.*  
*Qui te super ethera*  
*potenter exaltauit:*  
*et in sua dextera*  
*decenter collocauit. Aue Maria.*  
*Propter mundi scelera*  
*qui iudex est venturus:*  
*singulorum opera*  
*strenue*<sup>11</sup> *discussurus. Aue Maria.*  
*Dira qui supplicia*  
*est reprobis daturus:*  
*sed electis gaudia*  
*eterna collaturus*<sup>12</sup>. *Aue Maria.*

<sup>1</sup> dolorosum: *Sar.*; dulcosum†: 16; dulcorosum: 36, *Sar.* 23.

<sup>2</sup> manauit: *Sar.*, 16.

<sup>3</sup> maraia†: 36.

<sup>4</sup> a morte: 16, *Sar.* 23.

<sup>5-6</sup> teque a tristicia discipulosque: *Sar.*, 16.

<sup>7</sup> syderia: 36.

<sup>8</sup> omitt. 'in': *Sar.*, 16.

<sup>9</sup> fenore: *Sar.*; pro fenore: 16.

<sup>10</sup> ante vt: *Sar.*, 16.

<sup>11</sup> strenue: *Sar.*, 16.

<sup>12</sup> collocaturus: 36.

Orantibus rosarium  
aureum tue matris:  
Jesu, fac propiciū  
vultum tui Patris. Amen.

Pater noster.  
Aue Maria.  
Credo in Deum<sup>1</sup>.

V. In omni tribulatione et angustia:

R. Succurrat nobis virgo Maria.

Oremus.

**I**nterueniat pro nobis, quesumus, Domine Jesu Christe, apud tuam clementiam gloriosissima Dei genitrix virgo semper Maria mater tua: cuius sacratissimam animam in hora passionis et mortis tue doloris gladius pertransiuit: <sup>2</sup>et in resurrectione tua ingens gaudium letificauit. Per te Jesu Christe, Saluator mundi<sup>3</sup>. Qui <sup>4</sup>cum Patre et Spiritu sancto<sup>5</sup> viuus et regnas Deus. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen<sup>6</sup>.

[OF PENAUNCE, SYNNE, AND CONFESSYON.]

**C** Here folowe certayne questyons what synne is, with the ordre of confession.

**F**Yrst. what is penaunce?  
penaunce is the emendacyon of the lyfe with inwarde contricyon of herte for the synne commytted, with<sup>7</sup> a full purpose neuer to synne agayne.

What is the effecte of penaunce?

Penaunce maketh aungelles gladde,  
iustifyeth wycket persones,  
calleth agayne the goodnesse lost, and draweth mankynde vnto euerlastyng lyfe.

How many necessary thynges belonge to penaunce?

Fyue.

Whiche ben they?

Hope of forgyuenes,  
contricyon of herte,  
confessyon of the faute,  
fulfyllinge of suche thynges as the preest shall commaunde and enioyne,

and vtterly to forsake synne.

How is synne auoyded?

By auoydyng occasion therof as is pleasure, the beholdyng of the wanton playes, euyll company, and suche other.

Who shall neuer be ferguyen?

<sup>1</sup> *omitt.* 'Credo': Sar., 16.      <sup>2-3</sup> *omitt.* Sar., 16.

<sup>6</sup> *add.* Pater noster. Aue Maria. Credo. Sar.

<sup>4-5</sup> *omitt.* Sar., 16.

<sup>7</sup> *wit*†: 36.

He that forgyueth not to other : and he that (to his power) wyll not restore agayne thynges wrongfully taken.

How prouest thou that ?

For it is said in the Pater noster, Dimitte nobis debita nostra : sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris. Good Lorde forgyue vs as we forgyue : & saynt Augustyn said, Non dimittitur peccatum nisi restitatur ablatum<sup>1</sup>. The synne is neuer forgyuen, tyll the thyng wrongfully taken be<sup>2</sup> restored. Therefore whome we offende in worde or in dede, we ought to our power make satisfaccyon. And what euyll wyll malyce or hatred we haue conceyued agaynst ony, we sholde put it out of our mynde, to the ende that our confessyon may be acceptable to God.

What is confessyon ?

Confessyon is the declaracyon of synne before a preest, or ony other in necessyte.

Under what maner ought the confessyon be ?

True,

of thy propre synnes,

hole,

spedefull,

ofte,

sure,

manerly,

voluntarily,

clere,

with suche delyberacyon, that it may playnly be vnderstande :

& with so grete contrycyon that it may make the sory and heuy to haue committed those synnes,

fully myndyng neuer to retourne to them agayne & soforth surely purpose to do penance.

What sholde I<sup>3</sup> do, wyllinge to be confessed ?

Before all thynges in thy bedde chambre, or other secret place moche and often tymes thinke by thy selfe,

where,

how,

whan,

with whome,

how many tymes,

and how enormly thou hast synned, whether in

spekyng,

consent,

wyl, or dede,

what good dede thou lefte, whiche thou oughtest to haue done.

Nor it is not suffycient to confesse the a lyer, but thou must hole expresse what yll hath folowed vpon that lye.

Nor thou shalt not onely saye, I haue synned in glotonye<sup>4</sup>, but thou must tell how moche :

<sup>1</sup> D. Aug., *Epist.* 153.

<sup>2</sup> the†: 36.

<sup>3</sup> In†: 36.

<sup>4</sup> glotonye†: 36.



whether thou were dronken, or dydest vomyte, & cetera.  
in what place it was, and how ofte.

And whan thou delygently by thy selfe hast dycussed and consydered all thynges, than go thou to the preest with grete reuerence, and not as thou woldest tell a tale: and after the sygne of the crosse made vpon thy brest saye, Benedicite.

Than after fewe wordes spoken of the preest, thou shalt procede in this maner.

*Confiteor Deo celi, et cetera*, tyll thou come to *mea culpa*.

Than begynne to declare how thou hast synned.

Fyrst, in thought<sup>1</sup>,

after, in spekinge,

lastly in warde† and omyssyon.

In warke, in the seuen deedly synnes,

in the synnes agayne the holy Ghoost, *et cetera*.

Omyssyon, in the commaundementes and

warkes of mercy, *et cetera*.

What is synne?

There are two latyn wordes for synne,

one called *peccatum*,

that other, *delictum*.

*Peccatum* is the synne whan we ben dysobedyent to the commaundementes of God.

*Delictum* is the synne, whan we leue a good warke vndone, the whiche we ought to haue done,

but the difference of these two latyn wordes are almoost confounded.

How many maner of synnes are there?

Thre.

Orygynall synne of our fore fader Adam, whiche is put away by bapty[m].

Veniall, redy alwaye to be forgyuen, also without confessyon.

Mortall synne, whiche without confessyon and penaunce ledeth man to euerlastyng dethe.

How many mortall synnes ben there?

Seuen.

Pryde, wrathe, enuy, glotony, lechery, slouth and couetyse.

Whiche ben the synnes agaynst the holy Ghoost?

Pertynacyte, striuinyge† agaynst the Trinite, by cause God is mercyfull to the synners, desperre of the forgyuenesse of God, obstinacyon in euyl hatred and enuy† thy neyghbours vertue: inuidence: despysyng of penaunce.

Which ben synnes causyng euylles for to be done?

Irrytacyon, consent, counsell, laudacyon, permyssyon, socoure, and participacyon.

<sup>1</sup> thought†: 36.

Whiche ben the synnes styll cryeng before God for vengeance?

Manslaughter, synne agaynst nature, oppresse of poore people, and with holdyng of dettes.

Whiche ben the cyrcunstaunces augmentyng synnes?

Ordre, tyme, scyence, age, condycyon, nombre, abydyng, abundaunce, cause, maner, dignyte, and weke resystence, *et cetera*.

¶ *And than begynne your confessyon after this maner.*

¶ *The forme of confessyon<sup>1</sup>.*

Fyrst I knowlege my selfe gylty vnto almyghty God, vnto our lady saynt Mary, and to all [the]<sup>2</sup> company of heuen, and to you my goostly fader, that syth the tyme of my last confession I haue offended my Lord God greuously and specially in the .vij. deedly synnes.

¶ *Pryde.*

I haue synned in pryde of herte not lowly thankyng God of gyftes and connyng whiche he hath lent me. Also I haue synned in pryde of clothyng, in strength, in eloquence, in beaute, in proude wordes, wherof I crye God mercy.

¶ *Enuy.*

¶ Also I haue synned in enuy, heryng ony man more praysed than I, or better cherysshed with his<sup>3</sup> souerayne than I, or yf he hadde more prosperyte than I; and whan I haue mysanswered myn euen crysten, reioysynge therof. I<sup>4</sup> crye God mercy.

¶ *Wrathe.*

¶ Also I haue synned in wrathe, as in rygour of hert agaynst myn euen crysten, wheder it were lytel mater or grete, and for euery worde I wyllde to be auenged on them, and answered them with euyll wordes, and ofte smyten them, wherof I crye God mercy.

¶ *Slouth.*

¶ Also I haue synned in slouth, and specyally in heuynes of hert, and delyted me in ydle thoughtes and ymagynacyons of the worlde and my flesshe, not thankyng God of his benefytes neyther beyng sorry for my synnes, nor occupied my selfe in good prayers nor holy meditacyons for the comfort of my soule, whereof I crye God mercy<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> ¶ *And then begynne your confessyon after this maner.* Sar. 35-36.

<sup>2</sup> add. Sar.

<sup>3</sup> is †: 36.

<sup>4</sup> werof. I: Sar.

<sup>5</sup> When the rood-loft flooring in Lincoln Minster was cleared away preparatory to the erection of the new organ in 1898 among other papers brought to light was one leaf of some vernacular primer or book of devotion, printed in gothic letter about the year 1500-25, and measuring  $3\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$  inches, with 17 lines to the page. The leaf is the first of a sheet signed B.

It contains part of a form of confession with reference to the sin of Sloth, or

¶ *Couetyse.*

¶ Also I haue synned in couetyse by vnlefull desyres of worldely goodes, mysspendynge of them and vnreasonable kepyng of them, and I haue ouer moche desyred welth and prosperyte and more worldly worshyp and<sup>1</sup> ryches than I had, and gruthed at trybulations, aduersyte and pouerte, wherof I crye God mercy.

¶ *Glotomy.*

¶ Also I haue synned in glotomy by vnreasonable lustes of metes and drynkes more for fleshly lust than for bodyly sustenance, and I haue done grete excesse of metes and drynkes, so that natur myght not bere it, wherby I was the worse dysposed to serue my Lorde God, and the more styred to synne, wrathe and wretchednes, wherof I crye God mercy.

¶ *Lechery.*

¶ Also I haue synned in lechery, by foule thouchynge, by thought of fylthy lustes, and vnclennes, somtyme in dede done, in polucyons and felyng of myne owne flesshe, also in syghte of vrgyns and wydowes, *et cetera*, whereof I crye God mercy.

¶ *The .x. commaundementes.*

¶ Also I haue synned in brekyng of the .x. commaundementes.

I haue not loued my Lord God aboue al thyng, nor my neyghbour as my selfe.

I haue customably sworne by my Lord God, by his name in vayne, by his swete body, and his sayntes all.

I haue not halowed the feestes and holy dayes commaunded by the churche.

I haue not done dewe reuerence to my fader and moder<sup>2</sup>, nor to my ghostly fader, nor folowed theyr techynge<sup>3</sup>.

*Accidie.* The penitent using this form of self-examination is taught to acknowledge, apparently as to his behaviour in church, [if I] have "ben there

"I have not had my mynde of my prayers, ne asked our Lorde in my herte such thynges as are to y<sup>e</sup> helth of my soule, and profytable too my saluacyon.

"I have letted by iangelynge, or by countenance other persons of theyr prayer.

"I have had immoderate delectacyon in slepyng or longe lyenge a bedde, and slowe reparelyng of my selfe.

"I have comen late to the service of God, and lost parte of mattens or of masse through the dull dysposycyon of my herte.

"I have be[n] neglygent to lerne thynges profytable to thonoure of God, and encrease of vertue.

"I have be<sup>t</sup> slowe in doyng of my penance. And somtyme by necligence have forgete parte thereof, and holy prechynge, and counseyle, whyche I have had to the profyte of my soule.

"I have not dysposed me to the vertue contrary to thys vyce, as to the vertue of perseuerance in good occupacyons and customes, whiche I have begon, and by this vyce I have left them afore I came too the perfeccyon of the [vertue]." Here the fragment ends.

<sup>1</sup> ad†: 36. ad: *Sar.* 16.

<sup>2</sup> moder†: 36.

<sup>3</sup> the chynge†: 36.

I haue synned in backbythyng myn euen chrysten, in appayrynge<sup>1</sup> of theyr good name, and defylyng them with<sup>2</sup> my wordes.

I haue harmed my neyghbours, takynge theyr goodes agaynst theyr wyll by wronge.

I haue synned fleshely with persons that ben wedded, and other moo; and more wolde, yf I myght haue had tyme and place.

I haue borne fals wytnes agaynst myne euen crysten.

I haue coueyted to haue my neyghbours wyfe<sup>3</sup>, doughter or seruauant, and wolde yf I had myght. I haue inordynatly coueited the goodes of my neyghbours contrary to the lawes of God, wherof I crye God mercy.

¶ *The .v. wyttes.*

¶ Ferthermore I haue synned in mysspendyng of my .v. wyttes, that is to say,

in syght of eyen,

tastyng of mouth,

herynge of eres,

smellynge of nose,

touchynge of handes and fete, and with other membres of the body, wherof I crye God mercy.

¶ *The .vij. werkes of mercy [bodely]<sup>4</sup>.*

¶ Also I haue synned in not fulfyllynge of the .vij. werkes of mercy bodyly, by wyl, power, and dede.

I haue not clothet the naketh,

I haue not gyuen drynke to the thyrsty,

I haue not fedde the hungry,

I haue not visyted the prysoners and the seke,

I haue not departed of my goodes to the poore,

I haue not harboured the harborlesse,

I haue not buryed the deed, according to the commaundements of God, whereof I crye God mercy.

¶ *The seuen werkes of mercy ghostly<sup>5</sup>.*

¶ Also I haue synned in not fulfyllynge the seuen werkes of mercy spyrytuall.

I haue not gyuen counseyle to them that hadde nede.

I haue not taught the ignoraunt,

I haue not discretly correcked<sup>6</sup>† them that haue offended,

<sup>1</sup> 'appayrynge' = impairing, or injuring (*N. E. Dict.*).

<sup>2</sup> wit†: 36.

<sup>3</sup> my ueygbours wyte†: 36.

<sup>4</sup> add. Sar. Opera misericordie corporalia vno versiculo:—

Vestio, cibo, potu, redimo, teco, colligo, condo.

(*Dan J. Gaytryges Sermon*, Religious Pieces from Ro. Thornton's MS., cir. 1440, at Lincoln. E.E.T.S. 1867, p. 9.)

<sup>5</sup> Opera misericordie spiritualia:—

Consule, castiga, solare, remitte, fer, ora,

Instrue, si poteris, sic Christo carus haberis.

(*ibid.*) The line 'consule' is quoted by J. de Burgo in *Pupilla Oculi*, x. 3.

<sup>6</sup> correcked: 36, Sar. 35-36.

I haue not confortd them that haue ben in heuynes,  
 I haue not forgyuen them that haue mysdone<sup>1</sup> or myssayde me,  
 I haue not pacyently suffred them that haue reprobued me,  
 I haue not deuoutly prayed to God for my neyghbour to gyue hym  
 grace to amende his synful lyuyng and contynue in vertue.

¶ *The .vij. gyftes of the holy Ghost.*

¶ Also I haue not vsed the gyftes of the holy Goost to the honour  
 of God, as

the gyfte of vnderstandyng,  
 the gyfte of wysdome,  
 the gyfte of counseyll,  
 the gyfte of scyence,  
 the gyfte of strength,  
 the gyfte of pyte<sup>2</sup>, and  
 the gyfte of drede, wherof I crye God mercy.

¶ *The .vij. sacramentes.*

¶ Also I haue not gyuen thanks to our Lorde for the .vij. sacra-  
 mentes. As the sacrament

of baptyem,  
 of confyrmacyon,  
 of penaunce,  
 of the body of our Lorde,  
 of wedlocke,  
 of presthode, and  
 of enelynge, wherof beyng repentaunt I crye God mercy.

¶ *The .viij. beatitudes.*

¶ Also I haue not dysposed me to the .viij. beatitudes as  
 pouerte of spyryte,  
 perfyte mekenes in aduersyte, perfect mekenes in prosperyte,  
 lust of ryghtwysnesse,  
 perfyte mercy,  
 clenes of herte,  
 peas in desyre,  
 ioyfull suffraunce of persecucyon in the cause of virtue, wherof I crie  
 God mercy.

¶ Of these and all other knowen and not knowen that euer I dyde  
 sythe I was borne vnto this daye, I aske God mercy, and, moost mercy-  
 full Lorde God, I yelde me gylty vnto the, and vtterly put me vnto thy  
 grace, pyte and mercy,

<sup>1</sup> wysdome†: 36.

<sup>2</sup> 'pyte' = *pietas* (εὐσέβεια) or 'true godliness.' This is not specified in *Isai.* xi. 2 among the spiritual gifts of Christ (who, being Divine, could not become god-ly). But in the Confirmation Service the Bishop prays for 'Spiritus scientie et pietatis' for the candidates. See *York Manual*, &c., p. 96\*.



and I praye you, my ghostly<sup>1</sup> fader, to be bytwene my synnes<sup>2</sup> and me, that God of his mercy forgue me for this lowly confessyon, that I may be free fro my goostly enemy, and optaine the endles blyse that God hath boughte me to.

¶ Ideo deprecor, *et cetera*.

<sup>1</sup> goostly: *Sar.* 23; goodly: *Sar.* 35-36.

<sup>2</sup> synne: *Sar.* 23, 36.—The *Sarum Horae*, 1536 (with *Sar.* 1523, lf. clxxxiii. verso) adds:

¶ *The .x. commaundementes of the lawe.*

Thou shalte worshypp one God onely  
and loue hym with thy herte perfyte.  
God in vayne swere not wylfully  
ne by no thyng that he made veryly.  
The sonday kepe and halowe holyly  
heryng Goddes seruyce deuoutely.  
Fader and moder honour thou lowly  
and in theyr nede helpe them gladly.  
Slee thou no man malyceously  
nor therto consent wyttyngly.  
Thou shalte not do no lechery  
but with thy wyfe in wedelocke onely.  
Thy neighbours goodes stele not falsly  
nor no thyng witholde vntruly.  
False wytnesse bere thou not slyly  
nor false recorde for none enuy.  
Other mennes wyues kepe not flesshely  
ne other women to holde carnally.  
Other mennes goodes coueyte not lyghtly  
nor holde from them vnryghtfully.

Then follow, fo. clvij.-clx., "*The .xv. oos in englysshe.* O Jesu endles swetnes, &c." Cf. p. 76, *supra*. "*A prayer agayne evyll thoughtes.* Lorde God, I beseche the not to be longe absend, &c. ¶ *A deuoute prayer for the illuminacyon of mannes mynde.* O Thou good Jesu claryfy me with the clerete, &c." But these two prayers are not in the York books, nor in *Sar.* 23.

THE CONTENTES OF THIS BOKE<sup>1</sup>.

Fyrst an almanacke and a kalender

Almanacke for .xviij. yeres (1535-52)	4
To knowe Ester day, <i>et cetera</i>	"
The newe mone, monthes &c. in the yere	"
Aspectus .xij. signorum	5
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Saynt Johñs gossell. <i>In principio</i>	32
A gossell of saynt Luke. <i>In illo tempore, Missus est Gabriel angelus</i>	"
A gossell of saynt Matthewe. <i>Cum natus</i>	33
A gospel of saynt Marke. <i>In illo tempore, Recumbentibus vndecim discipulis</i>	"
A prayer agaynst flesshely lust. <i>Domine, libera animam meam</i>	34
A prayer for temptacyon of the flesshe. <i>Domine, Jesu Christe, Rex virginum</i>	"
A prayer to saye at your vprysynge. <i>Auxiliatrix sis michi</i>	"
A prayer to saye whan thou goost fyrst out of thy hous. <i>Crux triumphalis. Deus, qui tres magos. Angele, qui meus es custos</i>	35
A prayer to saye whan thou entrest into the churche. <i>Domine, in multitudine misericordie</i>	"
A prayer to saye whan thou takest holy *water. <i>Aqua benedicta sit nobis</i>	" * fol. penult. 87.
A prayer to saye whan thou begynnest to praye. <i>Descedite†<sup>2</sup> a me</i>	"
A prayer for true <sup>3</sup> penaunce. <i>Omnipotens sempiterne Deus precor te Confiteor<sup>4</sup> tibi, Domine Jesu Christe, omnia peccata</i>	36

HORE B. MARIE VIRGINIS secundum vsum Eboracensem [p. 37].

Matyns of our lady	37
at lauds	41
Pryme and houres	47
Terce	50
Sext	52
Nones	54
with the houres of the passyon of our Lorde [pp. 46, 49]	
and the compassyon of our lady [pp. 47 n., 49 n., &c.]	
Euensonge	56
Complyn	59
Salve regina	62

<sup>1</sup> The 1536 'Tabula' or 'Contentes of this boke' which immediately precedes the colophon gives no page-references because this 16<sup>mo</sup> is not itself foliated. In reprinting the Table of Contents we have amplified it in some places for the convenience of searching, and have rendered it more fully representative of the contents actually supplied in 1536 in the body of the book.

<sup>2</sup> Descedite† here, for Discedite (p. 35).

<sup>3</sup> rue† a misprint for true: 36.

<sup>4</sup> Confiteor†: 36; by error (in this 'Tabula' of Contents) for Confiteor (p. 36, supra).

<i>Gaude virgo, mater Christi</i> . . . . .	63
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<i>Dulcissime Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei viui, qui beatissimam</i>	66
<i>Obsecro te, domina sancta</i> . . . . .	"
<i>O intemerata et in eternum</i> (de B. V. Maria, et S. Jo. Evang.) .	67
<i>Sancta Dei genitrix</i> . . . . .	68
<i>Stella celi extirpauit</i> (contra pestem) . . . . .	69
[ <i>Deus misericordie, Deus pietatis</i> ] <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	"
<i>Aue regina celorum</i> . . . . .	"
<i>Regina celi letare</i> . . . . .	70
<sup>1</sup> <i>Rosarium beate Marie, Suscipe rosarium</i> <sup>2</sup>	

Also diuers prayers to be sayde at the leuacyon of the sacrament of the awter<sup>3</sup> [pp. 70-72]

<i>Aue, verum corpus natum</i> . . . . .	"
<i>Aue Jesu Christe, verbum Patris</i> . . . . .	"
<i>Salue sanguis preciosi Domini</i> . . . . .	71

In presentia sacrosancti [corporis]

<i>Domine Jesu Christe, qui hanc sacratissimam carnem</i> . . .	72
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A prayer to the Trinite

<i>Sancta Trinitas, vnus Deus</i> . . . . .	"
<i>Deus, qui superbis resistis</i> . . . . .	"
<i>Deus, qui liberasti Susannam</i> . . . . .	73

\* S<sup>7b</sup>.

* <i>Domine Jesu Christe, qui me creasti et redemisti</i> . . . .	"
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A prayer to say before ye go to receyue the sacrament of the awter . . . . .

<i>Salue salutaris hostia</i> . . . . .	"
---	---

An other whan ye receyue . . . . .

<i>Domine, non sum dignus</i> . . . . .	"
---	---

And an other whan ye haue receyued . . . . .

<i>Gratias ago tibi, omnipotens et misericors Deus: gratiarum</i> .	"
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To the thre kynges of Coleyne: *Rex Jaspar, rex Melchior* .

<i>Deus illuminator</i> . . . . .	74
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<i>Trium regum trinum munus</i> . . . . .	"
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<i>Deus, qui tres magos orientales</i> . . . . .	75
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The .xv. oos of saynt Brygitte [pp. 76-80]

<i>O Domine Jesu Christe, eterna dulcedo te amantium</i> . . .	76
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<i>O Jesu, vera libertas</i> [angelorum] . . . . .	77
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<i>O Jesu, mundi fabricator</i> . . . . .	"
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<i>O Jesu, celestis medice</i> . . . . .	"
--	---

<i>O Jesu, speculum claritatis</i> . . . . .	"
--	---

<i>O Jesu, rex amabilis</i> . . . . .	78
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<sup>1</sup> *Deus misericordie*: This is printed here in 1536, but not specified in the *Tabula*.

<sup>1-2</sup> The Rosary, though mentioned at this point in the *Tabula*, was not actually printed in this position in 1536, but near the end of the little volume. See pp. 142-7.

<sup>3</sup> awater†: 36.

<i>O Jesu, fons inexhauste pietatis</i>	78
<i>O Jesu, dulcedo cordium</i>	"
<i>O Jesu regalis, virtusque mentalis</i>	"
<i>O Jesu, alpha et oo, vita et virtus in omni medio</i>	79
<i>O Jesu, abyssus profundissime misericordie</i>	"
<i>O Jesu, 'regalis speculum vnitatis'</i>	"
<i>O Jesu, leo fortissime</i>	"
<i>O Jesu, vnigenite altissimi</i>	"
<i>O Jesu, vitis vera</i>	80

(Indulgence of the ymage of pyte, A.D. 1478.)

Dyuers prayers vnto the pyte of our Lorde [pp. 80-83]

<i>Adoro te, Domine Jesu Christe, in cruce pendentem</i>	81
<i>Benignissime Domine Jesu Christe, respice</i>	"
<i>O pie crucifixe</i>	82
<i>Domine Jesu Christe, qui gloriosum caput</i>	"
<i>Domine Jesu Christe, qui gloriosas manus</i>	"
<i>Domine Jesu Christe, qui preciosum latus</i>	"
<i>Domine Jesu Christe, qui preciosos pedes</i>	"
<i>Domine Jesu Christe, qui totum corpus tuum</i>	"
<i>Deus, qui voluisti pro redemptione mundi</i>	83
<i>O bone Jesu (S. Bernardini)</i>	"
<i>O Rex gloriose inter sanctos tuos</i>	84
<i>Deus, qui gloriosum nomen Jesu Christi</i>	"
<i>Sanctifica me, Domine Jesu Christe, signaculo</i>	85

Also foure deuoute prayers in englysshe [pp. 85-88]

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<i>O the moost swetest spouse of my soule, Cryst</i>	86
<i>O blessyd Trynite, the Fader</i>	"
<i>O Lorde God almygty, all thynges knowyng</i>	87
<i>Benedicat me imperialis maiestas</i>	88

The .vij. psalmes with the Letany [pp. 88-99]

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<i>Beati quorum</i>	"
<i>Domine, ne in furore, ii.</i>	"
<i>Miserere mei Deus: secundum</i>	"
<i>Domine, exaudi, i.</i>	90
<i>De profundis</i>	"
<i>Domine, exaudi, ii.</i>	"

LETANIA . . . . . 91

Preces [pp. 97-99]

<i>Deus, cui proprium est</i>	97
<i>Deus in te sperantium</i>	98
<i>Protector in te sperantium</i>	"
<i>Deus, cui omne cor patet</i>	"
<i>Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui facis</i>	"

<i>Deus, qui charitatis dona . . . . .</i>	98
<i>Adesto, Domine, supplicationibus . . . . .</i>	"
<i>Deus, a quo sancta desideria . . . . .</i>	"
<i>Fidelium, Deus, omnium conditor . . . . .</i>	"
<i>Omnium sanctorum tuorum intercessionibus . . . . .</i>	99

VIGILIE MORTUORUM: "Placebo and Dirige [pp. 99-111],  
with the Commendacyons [pp. 111-114]"

AD VESPERAS . . . . . "

*Placebo. Dilexi. Ad Dominum. Leuauit. De profundis.*

*Confitebor tibi. Magnificat anima. Lauda, anima.* "

*Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, cui nunquam . . . . .* 101

*Inclina, Domine, aurem tuam ad preces . . . . .* "

*Miserere, quesumus, Domine, animabus . . . . .* "

*Fidelium, Deus, omnium conditor . . . . .* "

AD MATUTINAS . . . . . 102

I. Nocturno. *Dirige. Verba mea. Domine, ne in furore.*  
*Domine Deus meus, in te speraui.*

*Parce michi. Tedet. Manus tue.* "

II. Nocturno. *Dominus regit. Ad te. Dominus illuminatio.* 104

*Responde michi. Homo natus. Quis michi.* 105

III. Nocturno. *Expectans. Beatus qui. Quemadmodum.* 106

*Spiritus meus. Pelli mee. Quare de vulua.* 107

IN LAUDIBUS . . . . . 109

*Miserere. Te decet. Deus, Deus meus. Deus misereatur. Ego*  
*dixi. Laudate. Canticum. Laudate. Benedictus. Exaltabo.*

*Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, cui nunquam . . . . .* 110

*Inclina, Domine, aurem . . . . .* "

*Miserere, quesumus, Domine, animabus . . . . .* 111

*Animabus, quesumus, Domine, famulorum . . . . .* "

*Deus, venie largitor . . . . .* "

*Deus, qui nos patrem . . . . .* "

*Deus, in cuius miseratione . . . . .* "

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*Beati immaculati &c. . . . .* "

*Quesumus, Domine, pro tua pietate . . . . .* 113

*Miserere, quesumus . . . . .* "

*Absolve, quesumus, Domine, animas . . . . .* "

*Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, vnica spes . . . . .* "

*Deus, summa spes nostre redemptionis . . . . .* 114

*Obsecro te, Jesu Christe, Fili Dei viui, per s. crucem . . . . .* "

The Psalms of the Passyon (Ps. xxj—xxx)

*Deus Deus meus respice usque ad In te, Domine, speraui . . . . .* "

*Respice quesumus, Domine, super hanc familiam . . . . .* 115

*Aue benigna† Jesu gratia [plenus] . . . . .* 116



Saynt Jheromes psalter [pp. 116-123]

Verba mea auribus, &c.	116
Dona michi queso	123

Passio Domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum Johannem

<i>In illo tempore, Apprehendit Pylatus</i>	”
<i>Deus, qui manus tuas et pedes</i>	”

SUFFRAGIA [pp. 124-134]

*A prayer to the Fader. <i>Domine s. Pater omps. eterne Deus, qui coequalem</i>	124	* fo. vlt. 1586, S <sup>s</sup> .
A prayer to the Sonne. <i>Domine Jesu Christe, Fili Dei viui, qui es virtus</i>	”	
A prayer <sup>1</sup> to the holy Ghoost. <i>Domine, Spiritus sancte, Deus, qui coequalis</i>	”	
A Treatyse concernynge the helthe of mannes soule, compyled for Syr George Darcy knyght. <i>Deus, propicius esto michi</i>	125	
Another prayer to be sayde dayly. <i>Ora pro nobis b. Michael. Deus, qui miro ordine</i>	”	
A prayer of the names of Chryste. <i>Omnipotens✠ Dominus✠, Christus✠, Messias✠, Sother, &amp;c.</i>	126	
<i>O Domine Jesu Christe, in tuam protectionem</i>	”	
A [much deuoute] prayer to be sayde before holy comunyon. <i>O Fons totius misericordie</i>	”	
A prayer to be sayde after the leuacyon <sup>1</sup> . <i>Anima Christi</i>	127	
A prayer after comunyon. <i>Hec sunt conuiuia</i>	”	
A prayer to saynt Erasme. <i>Sancte Erasme martyr Jesu Christi Deus, qui beatum Erasmum martyren</i>	128	
<i>Domine Deus, Pater gloriose, celestis salus</i>	129	”
A prayer to saynt Sebastyan. <i>Sancte Sebastiane, semper vespere et mane</i>	”	
<i>Om'ps. s. Deus, qui meritis B. Sebastiani</i>	130	
A prayer to saynt Roche. <i>O beate confessor Roche</i>	131	
<i>Sacro munere saciati, supplices</i>	”	
To saynt George. <i>Georgie martyr inclite</i>	”	
<i>Omps. s. Deus, qui deprecantium voces</i>	132	
To saynt Crystofer. <i>Sancte Christofores, martyr J. C.</i>	”	
<i>Concede, quesumus, om'ps. et misericors Deus, vt qui beati Christofori martyris tui</i>	133	
To saynt Anthony. <i>Anthoni pastor inclite. Deus, qui concedis obtentu beati Anthoni</i>	”	
To saynt Henry. <i>Rex Henricus pauperum</i>	”	
<i>Deus, sub cuius ineffabili prouidentia vniuersi reges</i>	134	
A deuout contemplacyon of our Lady. <i>Stabat mater dolorosa</i>	”	
A prayer shewed by our lady to a deuoute persone. <i>Aue rosa sine spinis</i>	136	

<sup>1</sup> pyayer†: 36.

An other to our lady. <i>Aue Maria, ancilla</i>	137
"      " <i>Aue Maria, alta</i>	138
"      " <i>O domina glorie</i>	"
Another of the .vij. sorowes of our lady. <i>Aue dulcis mater Christi</i>	"
A prayer of the .vij. wordes, that our Lorde Jesu sayd on the crosse. <i>Domine Jesu Christe, qui septem verba</i>	141
Rosarium beate Marie. <i>Suscipe rosarium</i> <sup>1</sup>	142

Certayne questyons what synne is, with the ordre of confession [pp. 147–154]

Of penaunce	147
Of confessyon	148
Of <i>peccatum</i> and <i>delictum</i>	149

The forme of confessyon [pp. 150–154]

in the .vij. deedly synnes (Pryde, Enuy, Wrathe, Slouth, Couetyse, Glotony, Lechery)	150
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the .vij. sacramentes	"
the .vij. beatitudes	"
of these and all other knowen and not knowen	"

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## Explicit

hore beatissime *Marie* virgini  
secundum vsum *Eboracen*  
cum multis alijs orationibus  
iam vltimo in fine adiectis.

Impresse *Rothomagi*

per *Nicolaum le roux*

pro *Johanne gro*

*pal*, et *Johan-*

*ne mar-*

*chant*

in parochia

*sancti Macuti*

ad signum duarum

vnicornium manente.

<sup>1</sup> The Rosary is not specified here in the original *Tabula*, but it is treated as if it were already supplied at p. 70, above.

## APPENDIX I

### DEVOTION TO GOD, AND TO THE HOLY CROSS, AND TO THE SAINTS, IN ENGLISH.

**A**MONG the books presented to a Vicarage Library at Steeple Ashton, near Trowbridge, Wilts, by Samuel Hey, who was vicar there in 1787–1828, having been fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and brother to Dr J. Hey, sometime Norrisian Professor of Divinity, is a Latin MS. *Horae* of the early 15th century, with miniatures, bound in the 18th century and lettered “Missal” after the fashion of that day<sup>1</sup>.

Along with a kalendar and *Horae de B. Maria V.* (with hours of the Cross and the Holy Ghost, the VII Penitential and XV Gradual Psalms), parts of the volume which seem to be of the Use of *Coutances*, there is a Litany with the Psalms of the Passion and devotions (in honour of SS. Erasmus, Sebastian, Christopher, and Antony, the corporal and heavenly Joys of the B. Virgin, and St Roch) with a few rubricks in English, of the Use of the Archiepiscopal Church of York. See our notes on pp. 64, 95, 131–3, above.

At the end is written on a 2-leaf sheet in a late 15th century hand a sort of Metrical Litany of the Saints, in the vernacular. It is founded upon the time-honoured Latin Procession, but is composed in the metre of Chaucer’s “Flee from the press,” and of some compositions found in Cambridge University Library, MS. Kk. 1. 5, and edited for the Early English Text Society under the title of *Religious Pieces in Verse*.

The vernacular devotion in the Steeple Ashton MS. A. begins with the 5th line of Stanza 5. Stanzas 1–5 are here printed from MS. Y. I find the same devotional poem, with some introductory stanzas in a unique copy of the York *Horae* (circa 1516) in York Minster Library (XI. O. 28, fo. 170–171), where it has the running title—

#### A DEVOUTE OREYSON.

- (1.) ¶ *A glorious oreyson to the holy crosse et† to all the sayntes of heuen.*

**O** Glorious crosse, that with holy blode  
Of crist Jhesu halowed was bi grace :  
O gloryous crosse, so myghty and so good,  
That all vertue by heuenly power hace † :  
Honoured be thou this daye in euery place,  
In him worshypping whon † Jewes crucyed  
With nayles .iii. et † for vs vpon a tree dyed.

<sup>1</sup> The leaves were wrongly arranged, so with the approval of the then Vicar (afterwards Archdeacon of Stow and Precentor of Lincoln) the volume was rearranged and rebeked. The *Coutances* portion contains also the Office of the Dead and the four liturgical Gospels *In principio*, *Cum natus*, *Recumbentibus*, and *Missus est angelus*. The prayers in the *Coutances* portion are adapted for use by a lady, and contain accordingly such phrases as “*Audi et exaudi me, miseram peccatricem.*”

(2.) ¶ *To the fader.*

Moost blessyd fader and almyghty lorde,  
 Maker of heuen, and creer of creatures :  
 Of thy grace my prayers here accorde,  
 Whiche I preserue vnto thy mercyfull cures.  
 Thy grete power, lord, whice eue[r] endures  
 Me defente† from all synne and blame,  
 Preserue and kepe by vertue of thy name.

(3.) ¶ *To the sone.*

Lord Jhesu crist, that of thy grete mekenes  
 From the heuen thy people for to saue  
 In virgyn welle of all humblenes<sup>1</sup>  
 Descende woldest on my † mercy to haue,  
 Thy holy name, lorde, from the fyry caue  
 My soule defende, my body eke preserue.

\*Thy grace me to teche in vertue the[e] to serue.

\* fo. 170<sup>b</sup>.

(4.) ¶ *To the holy ghooost.*

Eternall lorde, thou blessyd holy goost,  
 That of the fader and sone procedes :  
 Shewe<sup>2</sup> thy power, whan I nede moost,  
 In defacynge of all my foule dedes.  
 Blessyd lord, that from all damnable dredes  
 Conueyest al them that to thy mercy seche<sup>3</sup>,  
 My defautes forgyue, and be my soules leche.

(5.) ¶ *To the trynnye.*

Holy trynnye, all blessyd and eterne,  
 Euer reygnynge in perfyte vnyte,  
 Whose power high no tonge may discerne,  
 Nor Joyes nombre, of thy holy deyte,  
 Thy grace euer in eche necessite  
<sup>4</sup>Be my help my fautes to redres,  
 And wyth y<sup>i</sup> holi hand euere day b[l]esse<sup>5</sup>.

(6.) *To our lady<sup>6</sup>.*

Blessed lady<sup>6</sup> Mari, vergine of Nazareth<sup>7</sup>,  
 And moder to y<sup>e</sup> myghte Lord of grace  
 That hys pepol sauyd hath with his deth,  
 From y<sup>e</sup> panys of y<sup>e</sup> infernal place :  
 Now, blessyd lady, knele before [h]is face,  
 And pray to hym my sole to saue from losse,  
 Wyth [h]is blod hath bought vs on the crosse.

<sup>1</sup> humble dest†: Y.

<sup>2</sup> Thewe†: Y.

<sup>3</sup> seche, i.e. seek.

<sup>4</sup> 'Be my help': Here the MS. copy at Steeple Ashton begins. 'Be my help my fautes (∧ to) redres.'

<sup>5</sup> euere day besse: MS. euery day me blesse: Y.

<sup>6</sup> lord: MS. A. (prima manu) ex incuria.

<sup>7</sup> Y. has simply 'Blessyd marye virgin of Nazareth': 'nazarth†' A. (prima manu).

(7.)

*To y<sup>e</sup> angels.*

Defende, sant Mighell archaungel,  
 And for me repete vnto y<sup>e</sup> deyte;  
 My vyces al in vertue[s] to repelle:  
 And in my helpe I y<sup>e</sup> beseche to be,  
 Sant Gabriel, and Raphael wyth the;  
 Archaungelles al, and aungelles, I you pray,  
 Be my defence, and kepe me nyght and day.

(8.)

*To the patryarkes.*

Blessyd Johan, yat callyd is y<sup>e</sup> baptyste,  
 Of Cristys law yat bare y<sup>e</sup> fyrst wytnes,  
 Pray to y<sup>e</sup> Lord, wyche in your moder chist  
 Of grace t[h]e<sup>1</sup> hath enspyred with swetnes,  
 My defautes all with his merci redresse.  
 All patriarkes, and prophetes eke,  
 Pray you for me, I you humbli beseeke<sup>2</sup>.

(9.)

*To apostels<sup>3</sup>.*

Peter apostel, and doctor Poule, I pray;  
 Philyp and Jacob, et<sup>4</sup> sant Bartylmewe,  
 Symon, Iude, and Thomas, [of Inde aye,  
 Mathy, James, Thade,] & holi Andrew,  
 Barnard<sup>5</sup>, Luke, Marke, and eke sant Mathew,  
 With eche apostle and euangelyst,  
 Pray to that Lord, for in you is all my trist.

(10.)

*To martyrs.*

Stephen, George, Christofre, and Clement,  
 Denys, Serueys<sup>†</sup>, Laurence, and Fabian,  
 Nicoll, Mores, Vrban, and<sup>6</sup> Vincent,  
 Eustace<sup>7</sup>, [Lyne,] Thomas, and Sebastian,  
 Cornelis, Syxte, Cosme and Damian,  
 Victor, Lambert, my synnes to deface,  
 All pray for me to thy<sup>8</sup> Lordis grace.

<sup>1</sup> te†: MS., Y.<sup>2</sup> beseche: MS. beseche: Y.<sup>3</sup> To apostles: Y.<sup>4</sup> This substitution of 'et' for 'and' is more common in books printed abroad in the 16th century than in English MSS. Y. has the same here.<sup>5</sup> 'Barnard.' Doubtless the scribe should have written 'Barnabe,' as in Y.<sup>6</sup> ad: MS.<sup>7</sup> Eustace (a trisyllable word here). Y. adds 'Lyne.'<sup>8</sup> y<sup>e</sup>: Y.



(11.)

*To confessors.*

Syluester, Leo, Benedict, and Mertyn,  
 Gregori, German, and sant Nicholas,  
 Iulian thameur<sup>1</sup> and sant Austyng,  
 Ambrose, Antony, and Bonyface<sup>2</sup>,  
 Edwarde, Leonarde, Gilbert, and Thomas,  
 Dunstone, Ierone†, wyth all confessours,  
 Pray for me to y<sup>e</sup> Lord of all socours.

(12.)

*To y<sup>e</sup> orders.*

Couentes of monkes chan[ouns] and Charterhous<sup>3</sup>,  
 Celestyns, freres, and holi prestes all,  
 Palmers, pilgryms, hermites, and religious,  
 That standis in God's grace holi, here I call :  
 Upon your knes afore oure Lord y<sup>e</sup> falle.  
 With praers help fro sinne me to defend,  
 That vnto blys my soule may vp assend.

(13.)

*To holy women and virgins.*

Blessyd and mek Mari Mawdeleyne,  
 Katherin, Ann, Martha, and Apolyn.  
 Margret, Agatha, Angnes<sup>4</sup>, and Elyne,  
 Egipcian<sup>5</sup>, Anastace, and Cristine,  
 Genvuefe<sup>6</sup>, Cecyll, Teodose, and Marine,  
 Barbara, Susan, Brygyt, and Luce :  
 Pray for me in your most humble vse.

(14.)

*To all santes.*

Apostles, martyrs, and confessours all,  
 Euangelistes, Innocentes, and virgins,  
 Pray to that Lord[e] wych is eternal,  
 To pardon me : as al god begyns :  
 And keyp my sal from al mortal syn[s],  
 And in [h]is blys, wyche is omnipotent,  
 He grant me grace for to be parmanen[t].  
 Amen.

<sup>1</sup> 'Julian thameur.' Perhaps we should read 'thamener' with Y.—connecting it with *amener* = almoner (*eleemosynarius*).

<sup>2</sup> St Boniface (5 June) was a Bishop and *Martyr*.

<sup>3</sup> Chan† and Charterhous : *i.e.* Canons Regular and Carthusians.

<sup>4</sup> Agnes : Y.; Angnes : A. The name is thus spelt in an inscription at Salisbury on a buttress of the 'Lady Chapel.'

<sup>5</sup> Egipcian : *i.e.* Maria Egyptiaca.

<sup>6</sup> Genouefe : Y.

## APPENDIX II

### ON THE "FORM OF CONFESSION," &c.

STUDENTS of our early poetry will have been reminded both of Chaucer's *Persones Tale* and of Langland's *Vision of Piers Plowman* (Passus v. li. 62 *fol.*, 630, &c.), and the *Religious Poems*, and *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ*, edited by the late Mr Furnivall for the Early English Text Society.

In looking through the interesting volumes bequeathed in 1677 to the successive Vicars of St Mary's, Marlborough, by W. White ('Gul. Phalerius'), sometime master of Magd. Coll. School, Oxon., rector of Pusey, Berks, I noticed a piece of vellum which has been cut at the top and the bottom to make the cover for a 17th century duodecimo volume. The writing upon it consists of 83 lines of English eight-syllable verse of a moral and religious character written in the 15th century: and as Dr Furnivall assured me that it is in a northern dialect, and as it illustrates the classification of vices given in the York *Horae*, we allow it a place in our appendix.

The fragment briefly describes the last six of the eighteen vices which spring from Accedie (ἀκηδεια) or Sloth; and it contains the opening of a description of the contrary virtue of *Probitas*, which is englished *Prowess* (or Valour).

After an imperfect sentence, ending here in the fragment with the line, "Yat wele begynnes and fayles in nede," the author sums up his (lost) account of one set of vices, and then proceeds to another.

Yies sex vyces lettes amendment  
And mase<sup>1</sup> a mannes saule be schent.

Othyr sex fynd I can,  
Yat to euell endyng brynges a man.  
Yies ere yei sex yat ere noȝt gode:  
Vnbuxomenes, and vntholemode,  
Grucchyng also, and drerynes,  
Langure, and Wanhope yat werst es.

#### ¶ Inobediencia.

Vnbuxomene[s] fyrst puttes obakke  
A man, yat wyll noȝt blethly take  
Penaunce, yat ye preste hym bedes  
In shryfte, anely for hys mysdedes.  
Yis vyce mase a mannes hert harde  
And vnbuxome and frawarde  
Vnto God and to haly kyrke,  
Yair comaundments for to wyrke;  
Or to hym yat es hys sufferayne,  
To do eftyr yat he wyll ordeyne.

<sup>1</sup> mase: makes. (A form current in Lincolnshire: "I gets a few sticks, and I soon mase it boil." J.T.F.)

¶ *Inpaciencia.*

Untholemodenes wrang wyll lere  
 A man, yat wyll noȝt blethly here  
 What he es worthy for hys synne,  
 And y<sup>e</sup> peryll yat he es inne,  
 Yis vyce puttes a man fra skylle  
 To thole yat y<sup>t</sup> es agayne hys wyll.

¶ *Murmuracio.*

Grucchyng comes yan, and yat es yis:  
 When men say yat doys amys  
 He grucches yat whyl, and greues hym ryte<sup>1</sup>,  
 And thynkes men dose itt for despyte.

¶ *Tristicia.*

Yar' aftyr comes a drerynes,  
 In whylk some men fallon es.  
 Swylk men we may of[t] see,  
 Yat fulgretly wyll greued be  
 Of alkyns thyng yat men yam sayes,  
 Or men yam dose, yat yam noȝt payes<sup>2</sup>.

¶ *Langor.*

Aftyr yat may come langure  
 Yat es murnyng ouer mesure,  
 Yat comes in mannes hert sone  
 For some dedes yat he has done.  
 For so mekell sorugh he maye tast  
 Yat hym yokes with hys lyf mast.

[*A couplet, perhaps, cut off at the foot of page.*]

[¶ *Desperantia.*]

Wanhope: yat comes althyr last,  
 In whylke ye feynde haldes a man fast.  
 For when a man in Wanhope es brought  
 In Goddes mercy traystes he noȝt:  
 For hym thynk so mekyl hys mysse  
 Yat he neure haf henne blysse.  
 And an yat he may perchannce  
 Sla hym selfe, thorugh ye feyndes comberannce.  
 Yus may yies vyces bryng  
 A man vnto a yll endyng.  
 Yies ere ye aughtene vyces to knawe  
 In whylk men fall, yat ere slawe.  
 All yai sprynge on ylk a syde  
 Owte of y<sup>e</sup> synne of acyde.

<sup>1</sup> ryte: completely, entirely. So in the West Riding now it would be said of a preacher, "He drest 'em daan reight." (J.T.F.)

<sup>2</sup> payes: pleases.

Yis synne ye gyft of strenght owte drawes  
 Owte of ye hert, als [w]yies clarkes knawes ;  
 And y<sup>n</sup> yar stede, euen to gesce,  
 Settes ye vertu of prouece<sup>1</sup>.

¶ *De uirtute probitatis.*

**P**Rouesce es a vertu of pryce  
 Yat mese a man hardy and wyse  
 Thorugh<sup>2</sup> ... .. through grace  
 All vyces ... .. prayes  
 Seune<sup>3</sup> degreeces ... yat ...  
 And seune brannches yat gro of gode ... balm.  
 Yies ere ye degrees fyrst to knawe,  
 Als yai ere sett here in rawe.  
 Robysnes of hert in ylk a chaunce,  
 Traystyng . sekyrnes . and sufferaunce,  
 Stedfastnes, yat mekyll may avayle,  
 And lastandnes with owten fayle,  
 Hungre and threst of ryghtwysnes :  
 And ylk ane of yise a vertu es.  
 Nobylnes of hert, yar' gode wyll lyes,  
 Schewes a wele in twa partyes :  
 On y<sup>e</sup> tane syde to despyce and fle  
 Ye werld, yat es nojt bot vanyte.  
 For saynt Austyne sayes als I gesce,  
 Yat yre es veray [...]p...ones.  
 Whan a mannes hert despyes here  
 Thyngs yat es nat to hys pouere :  
 Yat es thynges yat hym byhoues mysse,  
 And owte fro euery manger hysse

[*Some lines lost.*]

<sup>1</sup> prouece : prowess, moral courage.

<sup>2</sup> These three lines are completely faded.

<sup>3</sup> Seune, *i.e.* seven.

## APPENDIX III

DEVOTIONS FROM THE YORK PSALTER AT TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,  
MS. O. 3. 10 = N<sup>o</sup>. 1182. See the full description by M. R. James,  
Litt.D., Provost of Eton, in his Catalogue of MSS., pp. 192-4.

- (a) Mattins and Hours of the Passion.
- (b) Office of the Vernicle or Holy Face.
- (c) The hymn 'Salve plaga lateris,' and other Prayers.
- (d) The 'Veneration of the Passion,' or 'Arms of the Redemption,'  
with Symbols and Instruments of the Passion.
- (e) The 'Orison of Sorrow and Compassion' ascribed to Anselm.

(a) *Hic incipiunt matutine de passione Domini.*

<sup>1</sup> DOMINE, labia &c. Deus, in adiutorium, &c. Gloria Patri, &c.  
Alleluia.

*Inuitatorium.* Christum captum et irrisum, flagellatum crucifixum,  
Venite adoremus. *Ps.* Venite exultemus.

*Ymnus.*

**I**N Passione Domini, qua salus datur homini,  
Sit nostrum refrigerium, et cordis desiderium.  
Portemus in memoria penas et opprobria  
Christi coronam spineam, crucem clauos et lanceam.  
Et plagas sacratissimas, omni laude dignissimas,  
Acetum, fel, arundinem: mortis amaritudinem.  
Hec omnia nos sacient et dulciter inebrient,  
Et repleant uirtutibus, et gloriosis fructibus.  
Te, Crucifixum, colimus, et toto corde poscimus,  
Ut nos sanctorum cetibus coniungas in celestibus.  
Laus, honor Christo uendito, et sine causa prodito,  
Passo mortem pro populo, in aspero patibulo. Amen.

*Ant.* Insurrexerunt in me uiri iniqui, et non pepercerunt anime mee.

*Ps.* Quare fremuerunt.

*V.* Reliqui uineam meam, diuisi hereditatem meam.

[*R.*] Dedi dilectam animam meam in manibus inimicorum eius.  
*Pater noster.* Et ne nos.

Jube, dñe, benedicere.

*Ben.* Gloriosa passio Christi: perducatur nos ad gaudia paradisi.

*Lec. i.* Apprehendit Pilatus Ihesum<sup>2</sup> et flagellauit...percutiebant  
caput eius. Tu autem.

<sup>1</sup> On the blue and white centre of the initial 'D' is depicted the Sacred Heart with an open wound.

<sup>2</sup> The Most Holy Name usually appears in the contracted form "ih's" in the MS. Trin. O. 3. 10 (as in ed. 36), but where the scribe writes it fully expanded, e.g. in the hymn 'Ihesu, corona virginum,' he adopts the spelling with 'h,' suggested evidently by the form of the Greek *eta* in Ἰἠς or Ἰῆς.



*R.* Seniores populi concilium fecerunt \*ut Ihesum dolo tenerent et \* *Lf. 7<sup>b</sup>.*  
occiderent eum gladiis et fustibus: exierunt tanquam in latronem.

*V.* Colligerunt pontifices et pharisei consilium. *R.* Ut Ihesum.

*Jube. Ben.* Per uirtutem sue sancte crucis: perducatur nos ih's xp̄s  
ad gaudia lucis. Amen.

*Lectio secunda.* Suscipientes autem milites...medium autem ih'm.  
Tu autem.

*R.* Tanquam ad latronem existis cum gladiis et fustibus comprehendere me. Cotidie apud uos eram in templo docens, et non me tenuistis; et me flagellatum ducitis ad crucifigendum. *V.* Cumque inieciissent manus in ih'm, et tenuissent eum, dixit ad eos, Cotidie.

*Jube. Ben.* Per passionem Christi redemptoris, sociemur angelorum choris.

*Lec. tertia.* Postea sciens ih's quod omnia...& inclinato capite emisit spiritum. Tu autem.

*R.* Sicut ovis ad occisionem ductus est, & dum male tractaretur non aperuit os suum: traditus est ad mortem. Vt uiuificaret populum.

*V.* Tradidit in mortem animam suam, et cum sceleratis deputatus est. Ut uiuificaret]. Gloria. Vt.

*Psalmus.* Tu rex glorie, Christe.

Tu sempiternus es Filius.

Te Regem regum et Dominum confitemur.

Te crucifixum colimus gloriosum,

Dulcem et amabilem Redemptorem,

Qui nos aspersione tui sanguinis redemisti.

Dignus es, o Domine Deus noster,

Accipere laudem et benedictionem,

Gloriam et honorem.

Exultet tibi omnis caro.

Et omnis uiuens glorificet nomen tuum.

Humilietur omnis facies pedibus tuis.

Omnis creatura iubilat† tibi et seruiat.

Laudet, et extollat, et benedicat, et glorificet in eternum.

*V.* Dederunt in escam meam fel.

[*R.*] Et in siti mea potauerunt me aceto.

#### *In Laudibus.*

Deus in adiutorium, &c.

*An.* Contumelias et terrores passus sum ab eis, et Dominus mecum est tanquam bellator fortis. *Ps.* Usquequo.

*Capitulum.* Spiritus oris nostri, Christus Dominus, captus est in peccatis nostris: cui diximus, In umbra tua uiuemus in gentibus.  
[*R.*] Deo gracias.

#### *Ymnus.*

Christum ducem, qui per crucem redemit nos ab hostibus,

Laudat letus noster cetus; exultat celum laudibus.

Pena fortis tue mortis, et sanguinis effusio

Cord[a] terant et te querant, Ihesu nostra redemptio.

\* *Lf. 8.*

Per felices cicatrices, sputa, flagella, uerbera,  
 Nobis grata sint collata eterna Christi munera.  
 Nostrum tangat cor, ut plangat tuorum sanguis uulnerum  
 In quo toti sumus loti, Conditor alme syderum.  
 Passionis tue donis, Saluator, nos inebria;  
 Qua fidelis dare uelis Beata nobis gaudia. Amen.

V. Dedit percucienti se maxillam. [R.] Fuit saturatus obprobriis.  
 An. Proprio Filio suo non pepercit Deus: set pro omnibus tradidit illum. Ps. Benedictus.

Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam. [Et salutare.]

*Oracio.*

**D**omine Jh'u xpe, qui hora matutinali pro humana salute tradi, capi, ligari, alapis cedi et conspui uoluisti; fac nos contumelias et obprobrias† pro tui no\*minis gloria letanter suscipere, et sic passionis tue sanctissime continua memoria recordari, ut ad tue resurrectionis consorcium ualeamus peruenire. Qui uiuis &c. Amen.

\* Lf. 8.

Benedicamus Domino.

*Oracio.* Interueniat pro nobis, quesumus, Domine J.C., nunc et in hora mortis nostre apud tuam clemenciam gloriosa uirgo Maria, cuius animam, in hora mortis tue, doloris gladius pertransiuit. Per xpm.

*Alia Oracio.* Et beati Johannis apostoli tui et euangeliste, quesumus, Domine Jesu Christe, nunc et in hora mortis nostre, nos tibi recommendet oracio, cui in cruce moriens matrem tuam uirginem uirgini commendasti. Per.

*Alia Oracio.* Domine J.C., iudex uiuorum et mortuorum, unica spes mortalium, qui moriens morientium condoluisti interitu, miserere animabus omnium fidelium ex hac luce migrancium.

A porta inferi.

*Alia Oracio.* Erue, quesumus, Domine, animam famuli tui .N., et animam famule tue .N., et animas omnium fidelium defunctorum, de manu inferi; et sicut per tuam sanctam passionem et crucem mundum illuminasti, ita, sanctissime passionis tue, et eiusdem crucis tue honore, eas illuminare digneris. Qui uiuis et regnas, Deus.

*Ad horam Primam.*

Deus in adiutorium.

*Ympnus.*

**T**u qui uelatus facie fuisti, Sol iusticie,  
 Flexus, illusus genibus, cesus quoque u[er]beribus.  
 Te petimus attentius, ut sis nobis propicius,  
 Et per tuam clemenciam perducas nos ad gloriam.  
 Laus, honor Christo.

An. Faciem meam non auerti ab increpantibus et conspquentibus in me. Ps. Judica me, Deus, et discerne.

*Capitulum.* Recogitate enim eum, qui talem a peccatoribus aduersus semetipsum sustinuit contradiccionem, ut non fatigemini animis uestris deficientes. Deo gratias.

\**R.* Spiritus oris nostri, Christus Dominus, Spiritus.

\* Lf. 9.

*V.* Captus est in peccatis nostris, Christus. Gloria. Spiritus oris.

*V.* Proposito sibi gaudio sustinuit crucem. Ostende nobis, Dñe. Et.

*Oracio.* Domine J. C., princeps omnium regum terre, qui pro nobis contumeliose, ad instar latronum, hora diei prima, impio iudici Pilato es presentatus, eademque hora Marie Magdalene apparuisti; appare nobis per eternam gratiam, et da nobis ueram penitenciam, ut mala que commisimus districte iudicemus, ne in extremo iudicio eterno dampnemur supplicio, set tuis fidelibus associemur in celesti[bu]s. Amen.

*Oracio.* Interueniat pro nobis. Benedicamus Domino. Deo gracias.

### *Ad Terciam.*

#### *Ympnus.*

**H**ora qui ductus tercia fuisti Ad supplicia,  
Christe, ferens in humeris crucem, pro nobis miseris,  
Fac nos sic te diligere, uitam sanctamque ducere,

Ut mereamur requie frui celestis curie.

*Laus, honor, Christo.*

*An.* Dominus tanquam ouis ad uictimam ductus est, et non aperuit os suum. *Ps.* Exaudi, Deus, oracionem meam cum deprecor.

*Capitulum.* Tradebat autem iudicanti se iniuste, quia peccata nostra ipse pertulit in corpore suo super lignum, ut, peccatis mortui, iusticie uiuamus, cuius liuore sanati sumus. Deo gracias.

*R.* Proposito sibi gaudio, sustinuit crucem. Proposito.

*V.* Omni confusione contempta. Sustinuit. Gloria Patri.

*V.* Oblatus est, quia ipse uoluit. Et non aperuit os suum.

Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam t[uam]. Et salutare tuum da nobis].

#### *Oremus.*

*Oracio.* Domine J. C., qui hora diei tercia ad crucis penam pro mundi salute ductus es, te suppliciter exoramus, ut per uirtutem tue sanctissime passionis omnia \*peccata nostra deleas, et nos ad tue \* Lf. 9<sup>b</sup>. resurrectionis gloriam sempiternam misericorditer perducas. Qui uiuis. Benedicamus.

### *Ad Sextam.*

#### *Ympnus.*

**C**rucem pro nobis subiit, et stans in illa siciit  
Ihesus sacratis manibus, clauis fossus et pedibus.

Honor et benediccio sit crucifixo Filio:

Qui nos, suo supplicio, redemit ab exilio.

*Laus, honor, Christo uendito, et sine causa [lcc., ut s. p. 168].*

*An.* Posuerunt super caput eius causam ipsius scriptam, Ih's Nazarenus Rex Iudeorum. *Ps.* Credidi, propter quod.

*Capitulum.* Humiliauit semetipsum, factus Patri obediens usque ad mortem: mortem autem crucis. Deo gracias.

*R.* Oblatus est, Quia ipse uoluit. Oblatus.

*V.* Et non aperuit os suum. Quia ipse. Gloria Patri. Oblatus est.

V. Tradidit in mortem animam suam. Et cum sceleratis deputatus est. Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam. [Et salutare.]

Oremus.

*Oracio.* Domine J. C., qui hora diei sexta crucis patibulum ascendisti, in qua salutem nostram sciens felle et aceto te potari promisisti †, te suppliciter deprecamur, ut accenso et inflammato corde nostro sitire nos facias calicem tue passionis, et in te solo Domino crucifixo iugiter delectari. Qui uiuis. Benedicamus Domino. [R. Deo gracias.]

*Ad .ix. Ympnus.*

**B**eata Christi passio sit nostra liberacio,  
Et per hanc nobis gaudia collata sint celestia.  
Gloria Christo Domino, qui pendens in patibulo  
Clamans emisit spiritum mundum saluansque † perditum.  
Laus, honor, Christo.

*An.* Cum accepisset Jhesus acetum dixit, Consummatum est: et inclinato capite emisit spiritum. *Ps.* Uoce mea.

\* Lf. 10.

*Capitulum.* Decebat enim, propter quem omnia, \*qui multos filios in gloriam adduceret † auctorem salutis per passionem consummari. Deo gracias.

*R.* Tradidit in mortem animam suam. Tradidit.

*V.* Et cum sceleratis deputatus est [:] animam suam. Gloria Patri. Tradidit.

*V.* Uere languores nostros ipse tulit. Et infirmitates nostras ipse portauit.

Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam. Et salutare tuum da nobis.

Oremus.

*Oracio.* Domine J. C., qui hora diei nona expansis in cruce manibus et inclinato capite animam Deo Patri tradidisti, et clauibus dignatissime mortis tue paradisum reserasti: concede nobis supplicibus tuis, ut in hora mortis nostre animas nostras ad te, qui uerus Paradisus es, facias misericorditer peruenire. Qui uiuis et regnas.

Benedicamus Domino. Deo gracias.

*Ad Uesperas.*

Deus in adiutorium.

*An.* Dignus es, Domine Deus noster, accipere librum et soluere septem signacula eius; qui occisus es, et redemisti nos in sanguine tuo.

*Ps.* Exaltabo te, Domine, quoniam suscepisti me, &c.

*Capitulum.* Uidimus Ih'm, propter passionem mortis, gloria et honore coronatum, ut gracia Dei gustaret pro omnibus mortem. Deo gracias.

*Ympnus.*

**Q**ui pressura mortis dura soluisti nexus criminum,  
Nos ad pacem duc ueracem, Ih'u corona virginum<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> It will be observed that each stanza of the Mattins and the Vesper hymns of the Passion contains the opening phrase of some earlier familiar hymn.

*Tu flagellis potum fellis bibisti amarissime,  
 Pro peccatis perpetratis, Eterne Rex altissime.  
 Nostre genti recolenti mortis tue supplicium  
 Da uirtutem et salutem, Christe Redemptor omnium.  
 In amara crucis ara fudisti riuos sanguinis,  
 Ih'u digne, Rex benigne, Consors paterni lu\*minis,  
 Sanguis Christi, quem fudisti, peremptor hostis mundi,  
 Nos conducat, et inducat, Ad cenam Agni prouidi. Amen.*

\* Lf. 10<sup>b</sup>.

*V. Disciplina pacis nostre super eum. [R.] Cuius honore sanati sumus.  
 Ant. Recessit pastor noster, Fons aque uiue, qui animam suam posuit  
 pro ouibus suis, et pro suo grege mori dignatus est. Ps. Magnificat.*

*Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam. [R. Et salutare, &c.]*

*Oracio.*

**D**omine J. Christe, qui hora diei uespertina iam mo[r]te peremptus de  
 cruce deponi, et in tue mestissime matris manibus, ut pie creditur,  
 recipi uoluisti; concede propicius, ut, depositis peccatorum nostrorum  
 sarcinis, ante conspectum maiestatis tue presentari ualeamus. Qui uiuis  
 et regnas cum Deo Patre.

*Benedicamus Domino. [R.] Deo gracias.*

*Oracio.*

*Interueniat pro nobis, et cetera ut supra.*

*Ad Completorium.*

*Conuerte nos, Deus salutaris noster.*

*An. Plangent eum quasi unigenitum, quia innocens Dominus occisus  
 est. Ps. Domine Deus salutis mee:*

*Capitulum. Christo passo in carne uos eadem cogitatione armamini.  
 Deo gracias.*

*Ymnpus.*

**Q**ui iacuisti mortuus in petra, Rex innocuus,  
 Fac nos in te quiescere, semperque laudes promere.  
 Succurre nobis, Domine, quos redemisti sanguine,  
 Et duc nos ad suauia eterna pacis gaudia.  
*Laus, honor, Christo uendito.*

*V. Mortuus est Christus propter delicta nostra. [R.] Et resurrexit  
 propter iustificationem nostram.*

*An. Saluator mundi, salua nos omnes, qui per crucem et sanguinem  
 redemisti nos: auxiliare nobis, te deprecamur, Deus noster. Ps. Nunc  
 dimittis.*

*Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam. [Et salutare, &c.]*

*Oremus.*

*Oracio. Domine J. C., qui hora diei ultima sepulcro \*quieuisti, et a  
 matre tua mestissima, et aliis mulieribus planctus et lamentatus fuisti;  
 fac nos, quesumus, compassionis lacrimis habundare, et ipsam passionem  
 tuam semper plangere, et eam, quasi recentem, cum ardentissimo de-  
 siderio retinere; qui uiuis et regnas.*

\* Lf. 11.



Benedicamus Domino. [*R.*] Deo gracias.

*An.* Adoramus te, Christe Saluator, et benedicimus tibi: Quia per sanctam crucem tuam redemisti mundum.

*V.* Omnis terra adoret te, Deus.

Et psallat tibi: psalmum dicat nomini tuo, Domine.

*Oracio.* Concede, quesumus, omnipotens et misericors Deus, ut uulnera Unigeniti Filij tui, memoriam sue passionis et crucis, et sue mortis imprimant cordibus nostris, et eis uehementer inhereant, que nos perfecte illuminent, et inebrient mentes nostras, et tuo semper faciant amore feruentes; per eundem Christum.

*Oracio.* Interueniat pro nobis, quesumus, *ut supra.*

Beati Johannis apostoli et euangeliste, *ut supra.*

*Oracio.* Auxilientur† nobis, quesumus, Domine ih̄u xp̄e, nunc et in hora mortis nostre ad tuam clemenciam beati patris Francisci pia intercessio, in cuius corpore prerogatiua mirabilis passionis tue signacula renouasti. Qui uiuis et regnas cum Deo Patre in unitate Spiritus sancti Deus, per omnia secula seculorum. Amen<sup>1</sup>.

Benedicamus Domino. [*R.*] Deo gracias.

(b) On the reverse of lf. 11 is a very remarkable picture (in an oblong frame 3 in. high, by 4 $\frac{3}{4}$  in breadth) of St Veronica supporting with outstretched arms the great sheet or sudary with a large dark impression of the vernicle or Holy Face. Above it are the lines (in red):

\* Lf. 11<sup>b</sup>.

\* *Hanc cum scripturam legis inspiciendo figuram  
Illo nempe die pietatis munere dye<sup>2</sup>  
Non formidabis hostes tutusque meabis  
Nec facies aliqua te contristabit iniqua.*

Below the picture is the Office:

Salue sancta facies nostri Redemptoris  
In qua nitet species diuini splendoris  
Impressa panniculo niuei candoris,  
Dataque uerniculo signum ob amoris.  
Salue decus seculi speculum sanctorum,  
Quam uidere cupiunt spiritus celorum,  
Nos ab omni macula purga uiciorum  
Atque nos consorcio iunge beatorum.  
Salue nostra gloria in hac uita dura  
Labili et fragili cito transitura.  
Nos perduc ad patriam o felix figura  
Ad uidendum faciem que est Christi pura.  
\* *Esto nobis, quesumus, tutum adiuuamen,  
Dulce refrigerium atque consolamen,  
Ut nobis non noceat hostile grauamen,  
Ut fruamur requie, omnes dicant amen.*

\* Lf. 12.

<sup>1</sup> *Sar.* 23 (fo. lxxviii.) has a different prayer ('Deus, qui ecclesiam tuam B. Francisci meritis fetu,' &c.) in the Suffrage, *Franciscus, vir catholicus, V. Ora pro nobis.*

<sup>2</sup> *dye*=divinae. Cf. *Lucretius*, i. 22; *Persius*, i. 31; *Winchester Troper*, p. 34 ('*dia poemata*').

V. Omnis terra adoret te, Deus,  
 Et psallat tibi: psalmum dicat nomini tuo.  
*Ps.* Deus misereatur nostri. Gloria Patri. Sicut erat. Kyrieleyson.  
 Xp̄eleyson. Kyr. Pater noster. Et ne nos.  
 Signatum est super nos lumen uultus tui, Domine.  
 Dedisti leticiam in corde meo.  
 Fac mecum signum in bono.  
 Ut uideant, qui me oderunt, et confundantur, quoniam tu, Domine,  
 adiuuisti me et consolatus es me.  
 Ostende nobis misericordiam tuam. [*R.* Et salutare, &c.]  
 Domine, exaudi oracionem meam. Et clamor meus.

*Oracio.* Deus qui nobis signatis lumine uultus tui memoriale tuum ad instanciam Ceronice ymaginem tuam sudario impressam relinquere uoluisti; Per crucem tuam et passionem tuam nobis tribue, ut ita nunc meritis per speculum et in enigmatate uenerari, honorare, adorare ipsam ualeamus, ut te tunc facie ad faciem iudicem super nos uenientem securi uideamus, Dominum nostrum ih̄m xp̄m Filium tuum, qui tecum uiuit et regnat Deus p. o. s. s. amen.

*Oracio.* Aspice ad me infelicem pietas immensa; respice in me crudelissimum, misericordia publica; desperatus ad omnipotentem uenio: uulneratus ad medelam curro: serua pietatem mansuetudinis, qui tam diu sustinuisti gladium ulcionis, dele innumerositatem criminum secundum multitudinem misericordiarum tuarum.

(c) The Wounded Side of Christ.

\* *Hanc oracionem composuit Egidius magnus: & dominus papa* \* Lf. 12<sup>b</sup>.  
*Johannes xxii<sup>o</sup>. dedicauit eam .C. dierum indulgentie. Et beatus Leo*  
*papa adiunxit quadraginta dies cotidie deuote dicentibus.*

(Picture (1 $\frac{1}{2}$  x 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  in.) of the Wound in the Side; a long pointed oval, in red and black, within a narrow oblong border, blue and white.)

Salue plaga lateris nostri Redemptoris  
 Ex te enim profluit fons rosei coloris  
 Et uera medicina tocius doloris,  
 Et eterna requies humani laboris.  
 Salue plaga Domini, salus peccatorum:  
 Tu es consolacio perfecta iustorum.  
 Et grata refeccio tu es beatorum.  
 Et pacis fruicio portaque celorum.  
 Salue plaga Domini, recens et fecunda,  
 Emanauit nam ex te salutaris unda:  
 Per quam liberabimur a morte secunda  
 Cuncti seruientes hic tibi mente munda.  
 Salue plaga Domini, domus requiei.  
 Tu tutum refugium, ancora fidei.  
 Per te iam a crimine nos purgemur rei.  
 Et post introibimus in conspectu Dei.

(d) The 'Veneration of the Passion' or 'Arms of Redemption.'

\* Lf. 13.

\**Summa annorum indulgencie de ueneracione passionis Domini nostri ih'u xpi. CCC. sexaginta & quinque dies; pro anno computato extendit per unum diem ad .xviij. annos & dimidium cum tribus diebus.*

*Item per ebdomadam, ad centum decem & nouem annos cum dimidio.*

*Item per mensem, ad quingentos deni†, & octo annos cum .xij. septimanis.*

*Item per annum, ad sex milia septingentos quinquaginta quinque annos cum dimidio, & tribus diebus.*

(Underneath this announcement of pardon there is a painting (4 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. square) on a pink ground with a narrow blue line about it: our Saviour fixed to the Cross by three nails. His eyes are closed in death. Blood flows from his Right Side into the open tomb at base. Above the top of the Cross, and with its centre on the blue border, rises His Visage as Living. The 'instruments,' or emblems of the Passion, are set in order round the central Figure, so as to complete 'these arms of the Passion.'

To the right side: (1) and (2) spear and sword, in red and gold; their points, upward. The next objects (3) and (4) are cruel black whips of five lashes and white handles, while (5) and (6) are a pair of bundles of green reeds or rods. These items (3) to (6) are arranged on either side of (7) the tall Pillar of the Scourging, round which (8) a thick cord is looped: (9) the Ladder of nine rungs stands upright, near to the dexter edge of the picture. Along the upper part of it, going from left to right, are ranged (10) the Pelican 'in His piety' self-vulned in the nest: (11) the smith's tongs; and (12) hammer. Then follow, beyond n<sup>o</sup>. (13) i.e. the Visage already described as central, (14) the stem and three truncated branches of the Vine, spouting Blood; (15) the Brasen Serpent on pole; (16) a right hand holding a lock of the dark Hair plucked off; (17) another right hand opened, to buffet. Then (below the left Arm of the Crucified Christ), as the eye passes inwards from the margin of the picture, the spectator sees (18) the white Veil of the Temple slung from a horizontal rod; (19) the traitor's purse, coloured red, showing seventeen pieces of the price of blood; (20) a rod or baton; (21) '*calix iste*' depicted as a chalice with xv<sup>th</sup> cent. rounded bowl and knop; (22) a knife; (23) the cock which crowed twice; (24) the seamless Holy Coat, purple, edged with white; (25) a club; (26) a domed lantern, with flat sides of green glass; (27) three dice; (28) a tall flagon, for the 'vinegar'; (29) another baton or rod, somewhat longer than the former, fills the vacant space, (30) the red staff or 'reed,'—with (31) the sponge on its point,—being parallel to it. Thus we return to the (left) side of the Cross (32) which rises, as we have said, from (33) the rectilinear open Tomb.

Under this picture are these lines, enumerating the '*redempcionis arma*,' the instruments or 'arms' of Christ's Passion.)

Crucem, coronam spineam<sup>32</sup> } Deute ueneremur.  
Clausos<sup>25</sup>, diramque lanceam<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1-33</sup> These numerals refer to the several items named in the foregoing description of the miniature, which, like a 'Royal Banner,' displays the Emblems of the Passion.

\* *Acetum*<sup>21</sup>, *fel*<sup>28</sup>, *ueronicam*<sup>13</sup> } *Iugiter meditemur.*  
*Virga(m)*<sup>29</sup>, *sputa*, & *spongeam*<sup>31</sup> }  
*Pelum*<sup>18</sup>, *lanternam nobilem*<sup>26</sup> } *Arundines pungentes*<sup>5,6</sup>,  
*Pellicanum*<sup>10</sup> et *calicem*<sup>21</sup> }  
*Tunicam inconsutilem*<sup>24</sup> } *Et funes*<sup>8</sup> *urgentes,*  
*Conlumpnam* † *minime fragilem*<sup>7</sup> }  
*Flagella*<sup>3,4</sup>, *fustes innumerabiles*<sup>25,26</sup> } *Denarios ter denos*<sup>19</sup>,  
*Enses latronum horribiles*<sup>2</sup> }  
*Manus cedentes dissimiles*<sup>16,17</sup> } *Urceos amenos*<sup>[28]</sup>,  
*Cultellos duros*<sup>22</sup> et *forcipes*<sup>11</sup> }  
*Serpentem*<sup>15</sup>, *scalam*<sup>9</sup> et *malleum*<sup>12</sup> } *Corditer recolamus :*  
*Sepulcrum*<sup>33</sup>, *lumen*, *candelabrum* }  
*Faciunt hec nam regium* } *Perpetuum speramus.*  
*Vexillum, per quod gaudium* }

\* Lf. 13<sup>b</sup>.

V. Adoramus te, Christe, et benedicimus tibi :

[R.] Quia per hec passus sine culpa, nos a culpa misericorditer liberasti.

*Oratio.* Quesumus, omnipotens Deus, ut, qui redemptionis nostre arma temporaliter ueneramur, per hec indesinenter muniti, a peccatorum nostrorum nexibus liberemur, Per Christum Dominum nostrum.

*Oratio.* Deus, qui uoluisti...[as on p. 83] alligari, et sicut agnus innocens ad uictimam duci, et conspectu Anne et Cayphe, Pilati et Herodis indesinenter offerri..., inter latrones deputari, fel\*le et aceto \* Lf. 14.  
 potari, lancea uulnerari, et super crucem mori ; Tu, Domine, per has sanctissimas penas tuas, quas ego indignus peccator recolo, et per sanctam crucem tuam, libera me de penis inferni, et perducere me digneris miserum quo perduxisti, tecum crucifixum, latronem tibi confitentem : qui cum Deo Patre et Spiritu sancto uiuis et regnas Deus, per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.

*Dicentibus hanc oracionem sequentem ter inter eleuacionem corporis Christi et Agnus Dei, ij<sup>o</sup> mill'a anni indulgencie conceduntur.*

**D**omine Jhesu Christe qui hanc sacratissimam carnem et preciosum sanguinem tuum de glorioso Marie uirginis utero assumpsisti, et eundem sanguinem...[as on p. 72] crucis pro salute nostra effudisti, de mortuis surrexisti, et...carne ; Libera nos per hoc sacrum corpus tuum, quod modo in altari tractatur manibus sacerdotum, ab omnibus...periculis, presentibus et futuris. Amen.

<The Psalter ('*Incipit liber ymptorum uel soliloquiorum David regis et prophete de Christo*') follows in *Trin.* O. 3. 10, with a long prayer "Suscipere dignare, Domine, sancte Pater, Om̃ps. e. Deus, hos psalmos et has oraciones" &c. prefixed on f. 14<sup>b</sup>.>

<Among the Hymns which occupy ff. 112-136 and are arranged in a natural order, we find in their proper places, among those which are

<sup>1-33</sup> These numerals refer to the several items named in the foregoing description of the miniature, which, like a 'Royal Banner,' displays the Emblems of the Passion. For n<sup>o</sup>. 10 cf. 'Adoro Te devote...Pie Pellicane Jesu.' *Aquinas*.



common to York and Salisbury, the 14 Hymns which have been enumerated by Henry Bradshaw as specially distinctive of York Use besides the verses *Proni rogamus Philippe* and *Jacobe iuste, frater Domini*. See *Br. Ebor.* ii. 265; *Sarum Breviary*, ed. Cantab. iii. p. cxvi and note.

On f. 136<sup>b</sup> '*De modo dicendi exequias defunctorum*' is the simple heading to 'Placebo.' See pp. 99-113 in our text.

Then follows on f. 141 a single page on the excellence of the Psalter.

'Canticum psalorum animas decorat. Inuitat angelos in adiutorium. Fugat demones...gaudebit, & apud Deum anima eius in celo mi ri fi ca bit A M E N.')

(The seven score and ten Psalms ('*psalmi dauid vij x.*') are arranged in their breviary order for each 'Nocturna' of the week. The *cantica* are included among them in their proper places. *Canticum Moysi de trono* is the name given to 'Audite celi.' 'Te Deum' is '*Canticum Ambrosii & Augustini*' which is followed by *Ympnus trium puerorum* and '*Ympnus Athanasii epi Quicumque uult saluus esse.*' The order of the psalms and then of the canticles is given in a table of '*Touz les psalmz del psalter.*' After the table follows the Devotion here ascribed to St Anselm and St John the Evangelist.)

(e) The 'Orison of Sorrow and Compassion' ascribed to Anselm.

\* Lf. 143<sup>b</sup>. \* **P** is orison o sorow & compassiõ off oure lady saynt mary gedrit to gydyr saynt Anselme hir prest.

What man sayes it deuotly durant insuthfaste† penance haf and reuth¹ off y<sup>e</sup> blyssyng† mayden, Wete he wele for certayne yat he es in grace, hir son and hirs².

I haue writen sayes saynt Anselme yat saynt Johñ ye euaungeliste after oure laydy was taken vpe intill' heuen desiryd to se hir; he was rauiste on a tyme. In a Wysyon he saghe & herd how y<sup>t</sup> our' laydy saynt mari talde to hyr sonne, yat in yis werlde, in fyue thyngis namely, was scho mykylle anoyd. Fyrst when Symeon sayd off me, thurght thi nawne saule sall' y<sup>e</sup> swerde off sorow passe.

Ye secunde tyme when I had lost y<sup>e</sup> aut³ thre dayes, I soght y<sup>e</sup> w<sup>t</sup> gretand hert.

Ye thrid tyme when I wyste in spiryd y<sup>t</sup> thow was tane & sulde thole dede. ¶ Ye ferthe tyme when I saghe y<sup>e</sup> hyngande on y<sup>e</sup> crosse w<sup>t</sup> fresch wondys made rede In y<sup>i</sup> nawne blod.

Ye fyfte tyme when I had y<sup>e</sup> in myne armes.

Hyr soñ ansuerd to hyr⁴:

My swetest modyr, wat mane yat askys helpe off y<sup>e</sup>, for y<sup>e</sup> fyrste greuance, I sall' helpe hym off all' synnes and deliuer hym off all' ywelles.

¶ For y<sup>e</sup> secunde, whaso prayes to y<sup>e</sup>, I sall' gyff hym contricion off all' hys synnes in y<sup>e</sup> ende off hys lyffe.

For y<sup>e</sup> thrid⁴ I sall' deliuer hym o tribulacon off hert and off saule, And iff any off hys frendes be taken for encheson⁴ off hym, I sall deliuer hym, yff he pray ye for hym.

¹ 'rewth: dolor, tristitia,' (Manipulus Vocabulorum.)

² i.e. in her Son's favour and in her own.

³ aut=out. ⁴ 'encheson: causa.'



For y<sup>e</sup> ferthd†, I sall' make hym bryn in Goddys luffe, so yat he sall neuer forgette me & yff he be so febyll', yat he haffe noght' my passyōn \*in hert': noght for yi, I sall' gyf hym grace o swylk mede als alle hys \* Lf. 144. dayes he had fullfyllid it.

Whasa† prayes y<sup>e</sup> by y<sup>e</sup> fyfte *perturbacoñ*, I sall' gyffe hym *grace* and power' te y<sup>e</sup> to do yi wylle off hym, ffor yi† ilka mǎn deuotly serue saynt Mary for what so scho wylle! yat wylle hyr sonne.

**G**Aude cui Symeon senex prophetauit,  
dicens, Tuam animam gladius perintrabit.  
Et accepit Puerum in ulnis & portauit.  
uerbum cuius intima tua penetrauit.

**G**Aude que dolenter Deum quesuisti  
et post diem tercium in templo inuenisti,  
Sedentem cum doctoribus; cui sic dixisti,  
Nobis te querentibus, Fili, quid fecisti?

**G**Aude, que in spiritu cognouisti Deum  
Captum a Judeis tanquam uirum reum.  
Passurum in patibulo propter peccatum meum,  
Habuisti maximum dolorem propter eum.

**G**Aude, iuxta crucem manens ut uirgo per Filium,  
eius penas at[que] plagas cernens & supplicium,  
Dolor uisus tui cordis auxit<sup>1</sup> & uestigium,  
Quod precessit aliorum omnium marium.

**G**Aude, felix, femina quondam leta uixisti,  
Ihesum quando uiuum in brachiis tenuisti;  
Set postea mestissima mulier fuisti  
Eum quando mortuum in vlnis constrictisti.

{The last leaf of the MS. is cut out<sup>2</sup>. The last page, which faced it, is filled with a different text of the prayer *O bone Jesu* (ascribed in our Lincoln book and elsewhere to St Bernardine) which we print on pp. 83, 84 in our text of 1536.

It runs thus in MS. Trin. O. 3. 10, where space is still left for an ornamental initial letter:)

\*[O] Bone ih'u, O dulcissime Ih'u. O piissime Ih'u. O Ih'u, Fili \* Lf. 144<sup>b</sup>.  
uirginis Marie, plenus misericordia et pietate. O dulcis Ih'u,  
secundum magnam misericordiam tuam miserere mei. O clementissime  
Ih'u, deprecor te per illum sanguinem preciosum, quem pro peccatoribus

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps we should read '*angit*' i.e. *nos*; and *precellit*. '*Vestigium*' probably refers to the pierced Foot of Christ, represented possibly, on the lost leaf, as the Heart and the Wounded Side are depicted, and the Crucifix. See pp. 175, 176. Otherwise we should have expected, as H. A. W. notes, '*aliorum...mulierum*' in the last line of this 4th Stanza.

<sup>2</sup> The fly-leaf has had the remains of 'a very early copper engraving of the Virgin and Child' pasted on, but 'the greater part torn off,' and below this is the seemingly late xvii<sup>th</sup> century shield drawn in heraldic colours (quarterly 1 and 4, *Arg.* between 6 martlets *gules*, 3 bezants on a bend of the second, 2 and 3, *Sable*, 3 combs *argent*, for Tunstall).

effundere uoluisti, vt ablwas iniquitatem meam, & in me respicias, miserum humiliter petentem, & hoc nomen Ihesu inuocantem. O nomen Ih'u nomen dulce, nomen Jh'u nomen dilectabile, nomen Jh'u nomen confortans. Quid est Jhesus nisi Saluator? Ergo Ih'u, propter nomen tuum salua me, ne peream, & qui plasmasti me & redemisti ne permittas me dampnari, quem ex nichilo creasti. O bone Jh'u, ne perdas me in iniquitate mea. Rogo te, Jh'u piissime, ne perdas me quem tua fecit omnipotens bonitas. O dulcis Jh'u, recognosce quod tuum est, et absterge quod alienum est. O benignissime Jh'u, miserere mei dum tempus est miserendi, ne dampnes me in tempore iudicandi; que utilitas in sanguine meo dum descendo in eternam corrupcionem, quia non mortui laudabunt te, Domine, neque omnes qui descendunt in infernum. O amantissime Jh'u. O desideratissime Jh'u. O mitissime Jh'u. O Jh'u, Jh'u, Jh'u, admitte me intrare in numerum electorum tuorum. O Jh'u, salus in te credencium. O Jh'u, amator in te sperancium. O Jh'u, solacium ad te confugiencium. O Jh'u, dulcis remissio omnium peccatorum. O Jh'u, Fili uirginis Marie, infunde in me gratiam, sapienciam & caritatem, ut te possim perfecte diligere, te laudare, te perfrui, tibi seruire, & in te gloriari, & omnes qui diligunt nomen tuum, quod est Jhesus. Amen.

\* \* \* With the rudely constructed Suffrages, commemorative of Abp. Scrope, in the following Appendix, we may compare a Memorial in honour of the opponent of Gaveston, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, &c., who was taken at Boroughbridge and beheaded at Pontefract Castle, on Monday in Mid-lent, 22nd March, 1321-2. He was buried at Leicester, and popularly accounted a martyr. See S. Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints*, iii. 414-21, ed. 1914. The Suffrage, scribbled by a saec. xiv., xv. hand on f. 144 of an early xiiiith cent. *Psalterium* (MS. 6) in Clare College Library, at Cambridge, has been read by Dr James, who is, however, not responsible for the supplementary words suggested within square brackets where the MS. is probably defective:—

[Ant.]. O Thoma dux Lanchastrie  
 gemmaque flos militie  
 qui in Dei nomine,  
 et propter fata Anglie  
 [Nos] sustine, [rogamus] te.  
 [V.]. Ora pro nobis, Christi miles:  
 [R.]. qui nunquam pauperes  
 ten[u]isti uiles.

Oremus.

[Oratio.] Omnipotens Deus, qui militem strenuum tuum et fidelem Thomam comitem Lanchastrie per crudelem martiri[u]m palma [? celestis glorie donare dignatus es; presta, quesumus, ut cuius commemorationem agimus temporaliter, eius patrocinio semper gaudeamus. Per.]

## APPENDIX IV

FOUR SUFFRAGES IN COMMEMORATION OF RICHARD LE SCROPE, ABP. OF YORK (translated from the see of Chichester in 1398) who was esteemed as a martyr, beheaded on the feast-day of St William of York, 8<sup>th</sup> June, 1405, 'at his palace of Bishopthorpe, for rebelling against Henry IV. He is buried in York Minster, at the extreme N.E., and his tomb was for long a place of pilgrimage.' (M. R. James, *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS., Sidney Sussex College*, at the University Press, Cambridge, 1895, p. 45.)

(I.)

[*De Sancto Ricardo (le Scrupe) Archiepiscopo M.*]

\* *Antiphona.*

\* MS.  
Ebor. xvi.  
K. 6, fo. 27.

<sup>1</sup> **S**ALVE presul inclite, speculum fulgoris,  
Felix pastor ouium, celi fons roris.  
Plagas quinque gladii<sup>2</sup> moriens subisti,  
Vnus vt pro populo morietur Christi.

Voluntatis impetu, legibus cassatis,  
Capitis sententiam tolerasti gratis;  
Corpus qui necauerant spiritum necare  
Arbitri nequiuertant, signa notant clare.

Ecce, quod Altitronus nouerit lucere,  
In suo non poterit vernula<sup>3</sup> latere.

*Versiculus.* Amavit eum Dominus, et ornauit eum :

*R.* Stola glorie induit eum.

\* *Oratio.*

\* fo. 27<sup>b</sup>.

**D**EVS qui, inter ceteros capitalis lethi sentencie triumphantes<sup>4</sup>, pre-electum pastorem tuum Ricardum, ob constantem sui pacienciam, ascire decreuisti; presta, quesumus, vt qui eorumque victimis† deuo-

<sup>1</sup> The initial letter to every line in this metrical antiphon was intended for subsequent illumination, never effected.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York, was beheaded on St William's Day, 8th June, 1405, being Monday in Whitsun Week. 'He begged the headsman to deal five blows on his neck for the love of our Lord Jesu Christ, who being for us obedient to His Father unto death, bore five principal wounds in His Body.' See a Sermon by Chancellor G. Austen, 14th Jan. 1917.

<sup>3</sup> A masculine diminutive.

<sup>4</sup> triumphantes: *forsan*, triumphatores. Some words in this collect have become so indistinct that they puzzled Dr Henderson himself. Fortunately I was able to make out the name 'ric'm' (i.e. Ricardum) which helps us to see the general meaning of the prayer, although for some of the words we cannot say precisely what the scribe intended to write. The Archbishop was piously believed to have been admitted (*ascitus*) to the company of martyrs who won their crown by bowing to the headsman's axe or sword.

cionis<sup>1</sup> simpliciter peragimus<sup>2</sup>, triplices inimicos inter mundanas aduersitates facilius deuincere valeamus. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

## (II.)

From the St John's College Cambridge MS. 129 = E. 26. f.

*Memoria de Sancto Ricardo Eboracensi archiepiscopo et martire.*

*Antiphona.*

Ave decus sanctitatis Eboraci ciuitatis<sup>3</sup>  
 Dei prouidencia,  
 Presul eras veritatis Et exemplum castitatis  
 Speciali gracia.  
 Ricarde, pastor clare, Fac nos Christum sic amare  
 Tuis piis precibus,  
 Vt per te secum habitare Et cum sanctis collaudare  
 Donet in celestibus.

*V.* Ora pro nobis, martir Christi,

*R.* Vt liberemur a morte tristi.

*Oracio.*

**O**mnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui beatum Ricardum pium pontificem tuum miraculis gloriosis coruscare uoluisti, et beatissimo Thome martiri tuo coequari fecisti, presta quesumus vt eorum piis intercessionibus ab omnibus liberemur angustiis, quos eadem fides et passio vere fecit esse germanos. Per Christum dominum<sup>4</sup>.

## (III.)

From Mrs Willett's MS. xvth cent. f. 101<sup>b</sup>.

*Memoria de S. Ricardo Scrupe martire et confessore.*

[*Ant.*] Alme Ricarde, Dei martyr, nostri miserere,  
 Ut placeamus ei: fac nos peccata cauere.

*V.* Intercede pro nobis, Ricarde beate.

*R.* Vt que salubriter petimus consequamur a te.

<sup>1</sup> qui eorumque victimis devotioni†; so Dr Henderson read the words. The sense required seems to suggest 'ut nos, qui ipsius sociorumque eius' (or 'ut qui sanctorum') 'uicttricem deuocionem (or deuocionis memoriam) simpliciter peragimus.'

<sup>2</sup> peraginis†: (*W. G. H.*); peragramus: (*Chr. W.*), i.e. 'go on the devout Pilgrimage of Grace in singleness of heart alone.'

<sup>3</sup> For the accent on 'Eborácum,' cf. *Missal*, ii. 45.

<sup>4</sup> Communicated by the kindness of Mr C. W. Previté-Orton, St John's Coll. Cam., Librarian. MS. 129 is described by Dr M. R. James as a xvth century book of Hours, the Litany as well as the Horae B. V. Mariae being of Salisbury use. The foregoing is one of the Memoriae at Lauds.

*Oratio.*

DEVs, qui beatum et electum martirem tuum Ricardum preclare patientie titulis in Cristo sue mortis articulo singulariter illustrasti, da nobis famulis tuis, eius piis meritis, et amare sic in presenti munere, vt ad eterna valeam[us] gaudia peruenire. per Christum<sup>1</sup>.

## (IV.)

From a xvth cent. addition at the end of the (xiii<sup>th</sup>, xiv<sup>th</sup> cent.) Augustinian *Diurnale* bequeathed in 1643 by Samuel Ward (see *D.N. Biog.*) to his College, *Sidney Sussex, Cambridge*; now MS. Δ. 3. 17 (no. 62) lf. 207<sup>b</sup>. *Catalogue*, 1895, pp. 44-5, where Dr James has given the text with his description. He suggests that it may have come, not impossibly, from the monastery of Carlisle.

Surregor laicus, de nacione Ebreus, ex inspiracione diuina hanc oracionem composuit ex mandato beati Ricardi Scrop [:] huc transmisit cum sententia,

Hic est vere ille choruscans inter mille sanctorum.  
Ante Deum oret pro nobis e.....

Supplica pro nobis, beate Ricarde :  
Vt ueniamus celo sine tarde.

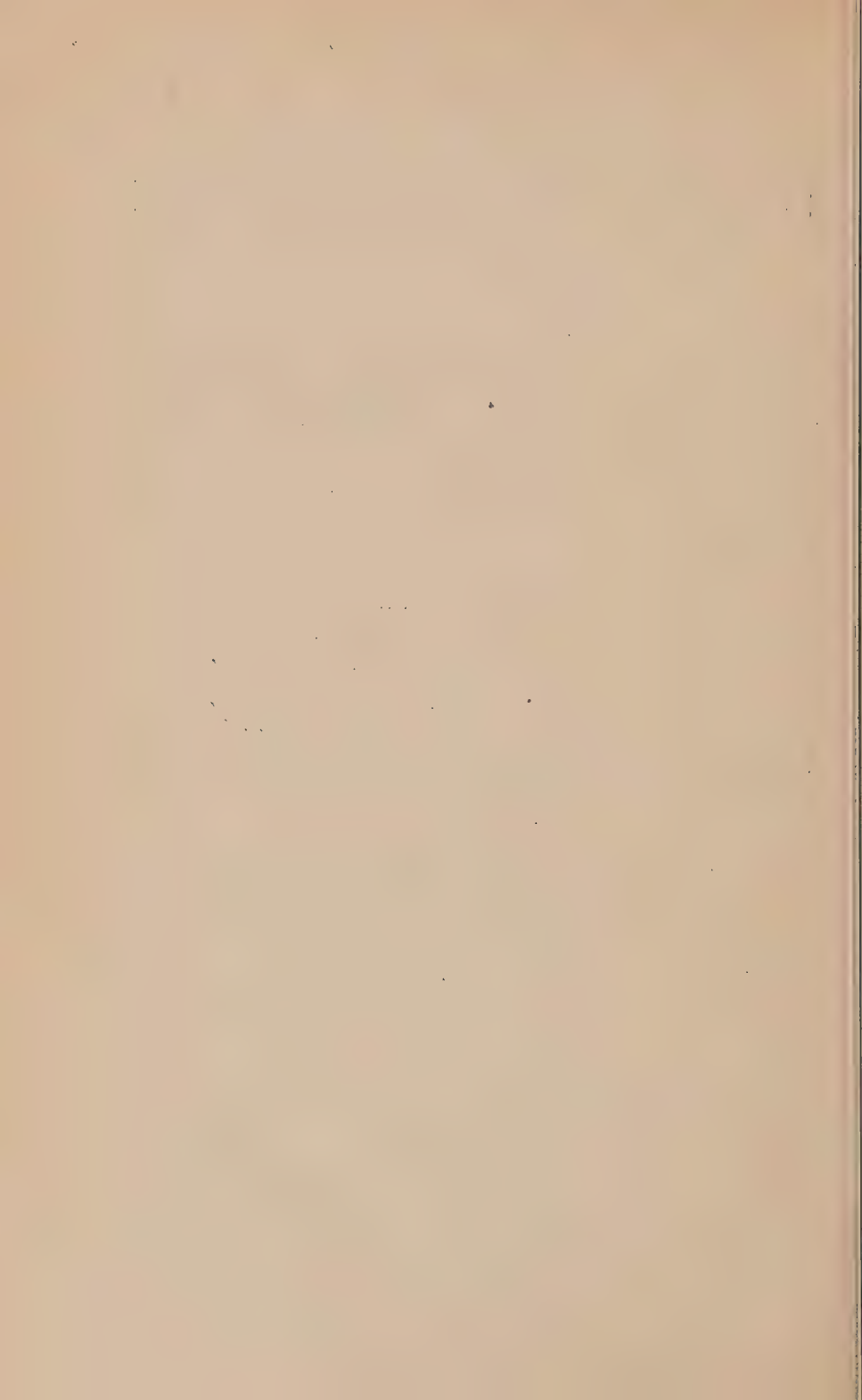
Oremus.

Onnipotens sanctorum, sancte, vniversorum Domine, qui<sup>2</sup> cotidie pij Ricardi meritis quam plurima ostendis miracula; concede propicius, quod sicut negocia nostra continue tibi offerat, ut [in] die nouissimo coram te gloriose nos perducatur, per Dominum nostrum.

<sup>1</sup> Communicated by the late Edgar Hoskins, M.A. We owe to Mr Henry Littlehales, among many kindnesses, permission to use an account of Mrs Willett's MS. York *Horae*, which has appeared in his book, *The Prymer, or Lay Folks' Prayer Book* (E.E.T.S., 1897, O.S., 109), ii. p. xli. n., where he has given Dr G. F. Warner's authority for the relative dates of Mrs Willett's MS. and two others which we have each of us examined.

<sup>2</sup> One has written 'quere,' above the line.





# INDEX

## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS INDEX

<i>Antiphona.</i>	<i>Beatus.</i>	<i>Benedictio.</i>	<i>Confessor.</i>
<i>Capitulum.</i>	D'ne=Domine.	<i>Episcopus.</i>	<i>Evangelista</i> (or <i>Evangelium</i> ).
<i>hymnus.</i>	J. C.=Jesu Christi.	<i>lectio.</i>	<i>litania.</i>
<i>Martyr.</i>	MM.=Martyres.	Omps=Omnipotens.	<i>Psalmus.</i>
qs.=quaesumus.	<i>Responsorium.</i>	<i>Sanctus.</i>	SS.=Sancti.
<i>suffragium.</i>	<i>Virgo.</i>	<i>Versus</i> (or <i>Versiculus</i> ).	

Names of Saints here given in the genitive case usually indicate their occurrence in the *Kalendar* of 1536, and vocatives are often taken directly from the *Litany*. Some deviations from this rule, however, may be noticed in our index, as also in our originals.

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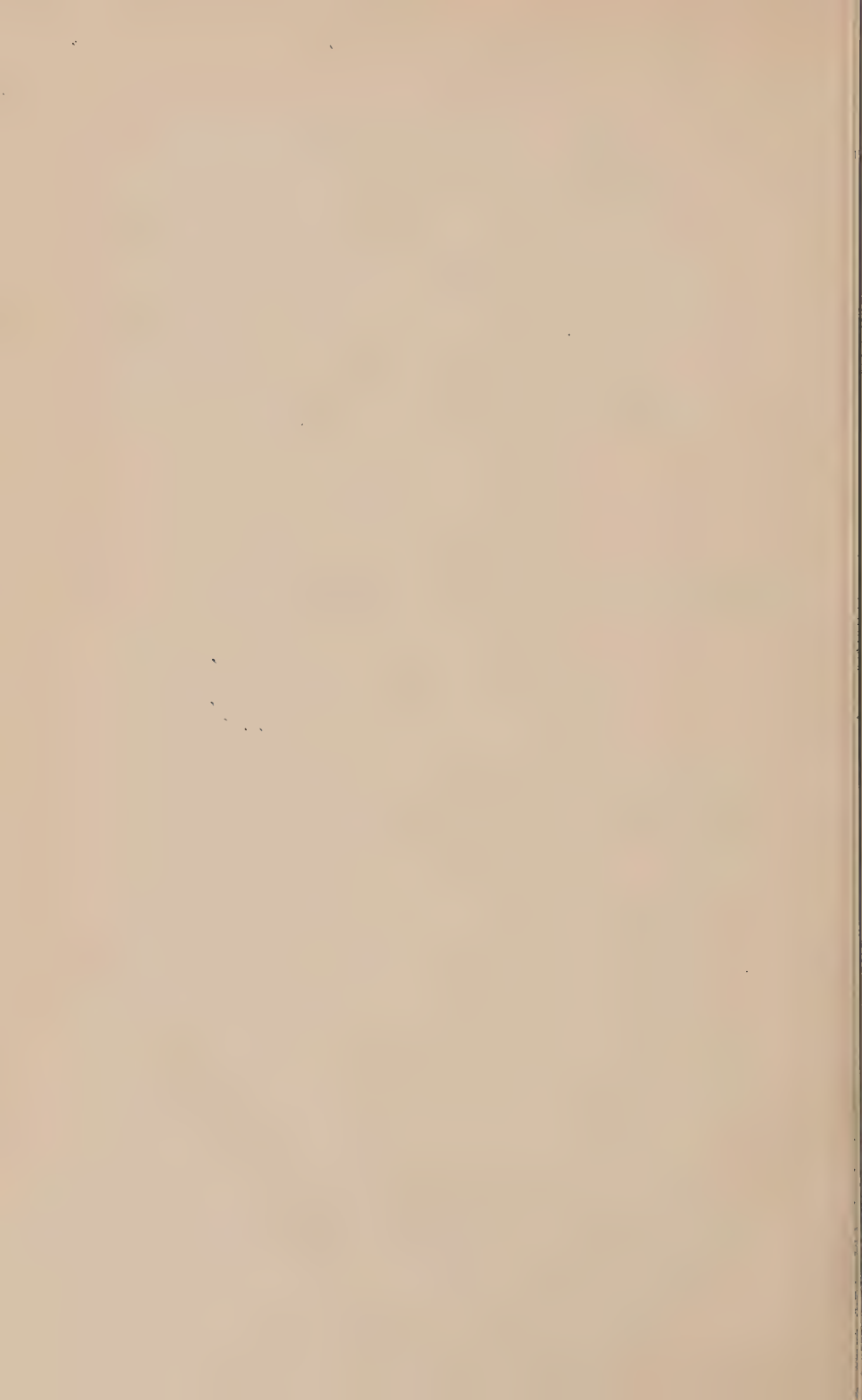
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# THE SURTEES SOCIETY.

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# THE SURTEES SOCIETY.

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## REPORT FOR THE YEAR MCMXIX.

The last Report was issued when the war clouds were lifting and fresh hope was springing up in the hearts of all. Perhaps no class indulged such hope more fervently than scholars and literary men, who anticipated the resumption of studies and enterprises which had been rudely interrupted by the dark days. We have now learnt what, as readers of history, we might have seen written large in the story of the great upheavals of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that no armistice and no peace can at once restore what has been so ruthlessly broken up. It is not merely that we are all occupied with the problems of reconstruction and the real trouble of living, whilst our hearts are still sad within us, but that in prosaic ways a new situation has arisen. At no time in the history of modern publishing has it been so difficult to place before the world the results of learning. The cost of production, as it depends on salaries, paper, printing and binding, has swelled to more than twice the amount that was required before the war, and we are assured that prices will not alter materially in the years to come. At all events the greater number of the present subscribers to the Surtees Society are not likely to see the resumption of pre-war conditions so far as expenses are concerned. It will therefore prove to be an anxious question for the Council to consider how far it may be possible to continue the Society on the old lines, so far as subscriptions and contributions are concerned. Where all subscriptions are being increased with no corresponding rise in the case of fixed incomes, any augmentation of the yearly subscription paid by members is much to be deprecated. Indeed a rise of 50 or even 100 per cent. in the amount as at present regulated may result in a corresponding drop in the list of subscribers. Meantime the Council beg all existing members to study the position and to take up the far better plan of increasing the number of contributors and members. Accordingly the request contained in the last Report is repeated, and all members of the Society are urgently asked to seek for fresh names to submit to the Council for election. This, indeed, is a matter which in any case is of

the utmost importance as we contemplate the gaps in our list occasioned by death or removal.

The difficulties of the time have been reflected in the issue of volumes. Everything has been retarded, and in the present condition of the labour market no blame can properly attach to Council, Secretary, or Editors. What has tended to delay has been beyond their control. Since the last Report for 1918 was printed, only one volume has been actually issued, viz., No. 131 for 1918, and the present Report introduces a second volume, viz., No. 132 for 1919, which has been kept back by the operation of the circumstances to which reference has been made. Mr. J. Crawford Hodgson's book consists of Northumbrian Documents of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He has printed in it additional documents connected with Bishop Cosin, which may well be compared with those printed in Nos. 37, 47, 52 and 55 by the late Rev. George Ornsby. Mr. Hodgson has also included documents connected with the differential treatment of Roman Catholics in Northumberland in the reign of James II. All these previously inedited papers are a useful contribution for that period to the history of Northumberland. The Editor has supplied in connexion with the Cosin correspondence certain pedigrees which will be found valuable by North Country genealogists.

The present volume gives an account of itself in the useful preface prefixed to it by the Editor. There can be no doubt that by a large class of scholars, both in the old world and in the new, the Surtees Society is chiefly valued on account of the Northumbrian scriptural and liturgical works which were printed many years ago. Mr. George Waring contributed the interlinear glosses on the Gospels of St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John, which survive amongst the Cotton MSS. in the British Museum, whilst Mr. Stevenson edited the similar gloss on St. Matthew's Gospel, and also the Anglo-Saxon and Early English Psalter, and the Anglo-Saxon Hymnarium. These books illustrated the "first-English" Bible of the North of England. Dr. Henderson and Mr. Lawley printed (as the preface in this volume explains) various York liturgical books. Chancellor Wordsworth has now completed the series, perhaps, by adding the York Hours, a very important work for understanding the popular religion of the North amongst the more educated classes in the reign of Henry VIII. These York volumes illustrate the devotional life of the people.



Turning to works in preparation : Mr. Dendy's continuation of the "Visitations of the North" is now passing through the press, and will shortly be issued. It will comprise Flower's "Visitation of Yorkshire" in 1563, from Ashmole MS. 834, and in 1587 from Anstis MS. C 9. The two other visitations mentioned at the top of page lxvi in Surtees Vol. 122, together with an analytical table of all the visitations to 1575, will then await treatment in a third and concluding volume.

The book which Mr. Dendy is editing will be followed in 1921 by the "Percy Bailiff Rolls," to be edited by Mr. J. Crawford Hodgson, and by the "Protestations from the County of Durham of 1642," edited by Mr. H. M. Wood. The single volume for 1922 will be a collection from the "Liber Cartarum" and from other Corporation Records of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Other works in preparation will be found on p. 12 of this Report.

The Council have to lament the death of Mr. Richard Welford, the well-known Newcastle Antiquary. He did not indeed edit any volume for the Society with which he was connected since 1892, but reference to the last number of *Archæologia Æliana* will shew how extensive were his contributions to the elucidation of Northumbrian history. It is, moreover, safe to say that as a Vice-President of the Surtees Society he helped to shape the course of its policy by constant counsel during recent years.

# THE SURTEES SOCIETY,

ESTABLISHED IN THE YEAR 1834,

IN honour of the late Robert Surtees of Mainsforth, Esquire, the author of the History of the County Palatine of Durham, and in accordance with his pursuits and plans; having for its object the publication of inedited Manuscripts, illustrative of the intellectual, the moral, the religious, and the social condition of those parts of England and Scotland included on the east between the Humber and the Firth of Forth, and on the west between the Mersey and the Clyde, a region which constituted the ancient Kingdom of Northumbria.

NEW RULES AGREED UPON IN 1849; REVISED 1863.

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III.—There shall be twenty-four Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and two Treasurers.

IV.—The Patron, the Vice-Presidents, the Secretary, and the Treasurers shall form the Council, any five of whom, including the Secretary and a Treasurer, shall be a quorum competent to transact the business of the Society.

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IX.—The Secretary shall convene extraordinary meetings of the Council, on a requisition to that effect, signed by not less than five members of the Council, being presented to him.

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XVI.—The armorial bearings of Mr. Surtees, and some other characteristic decoration connecting the Society with his name, shall be used in each publication.

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XVIII.—No alteration shall be made in these rules, except at an annual meeting. Notice of any such alteration shall be given, at least as early as the ordinary meeting of the Council immediately preceding, to be communicated to each member of the Society.

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Rev. C. E. Adamson, Houghton le Spring Rectory. 4th December, 1898.  
Guy Allgood, Hunwick, Humshaugh. 2nd March, 1920.  
Rev. Geo. Austen, Chancellor of York, York Minster. 5th December, 1916.  
Kennett C. Bayley, Durham. 1st December, 1903. (*Vice-President and Auditor, 1906—1918.*)  
Sir Hugh Bell, Bart., Rounton Grange, Northallerton. 4th June, 1907.

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 Thomas M. Blagg, 25, Cartergate, Newark-on-Trent. 4th December, 1898.  
 C. H. Blair, 57, Highbury, Newcastle-on-Tyne. 1st June, 1915.  
 Lord Bolton, Bolton Hall, Wensley. 5th March, 1889.  
 R. C. Bosanquet, Rock, Alnwick. 4th December, 1917.  
 Rev. D. S. Boutflower, Sherburn House, Durham. 6th June, 1916.  
 Messrs. Bowes and Bowes, Cambridge. 7th March, 1865.  
 Noel P. W. Brady, Ferryside, Twickenham. 1st December, 1903.  
 Alfred Brewis, 20, Granville Road, Newcastle-on-Tyne. 2nd March, 1920.  
 W. Parker Brewis, Glenbrae, Jesmond Park, Newcastle. 3rd March, 1908.  
 John A. Brooke, Fenay Hall, Huddersfield. 1st December, 1908.  
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 George Buchannan, Whitby. 6th June, 1876.  
 Rev. R. D. Budworth, The School, Durham. 2nd March, 1920.  
 Rosalind, Countess of Carlisle, Boothby Manor House, Brampton. 4th December, 1912.  
 H. F. Chadwick, Lyndhurst, Dewsbury. 3rd June, 1919.  
 J. E. Champney, Abchurch Chambers, London, W. 3rd December, 1895.  
 H. M. Chapman, St. Martin's Priory, Canterbury. 6th June, 1882.  
 G. V. Charlton, Woodford House, Thrapston. 2nd December, 1919.  
 Edward Thomas Clark, Snaith, Yorkshire. 7th December, 1880.  
 G. D. A. Clark, Belford Hall, Northumberland. 1st December, 1874.  
 Mrs. Clayton, Chesters, Northumberland. 2nd December, 1890.  
 Wilfrid J. Cochrane, Northern Counties Club, Newcastle. 3rd June, 1919.  
 Rev. Carus Vale Collier, Langton Rectory, Malton. 3rd December, 1897. (*Vice-President*, 1917—1918.)  
 Francis Collins, M.D., St. Andrews, Lyme Regis. 7th December, 1886. (*Vice-President*, 1897—1919.)  
 Lady Cowell, Clifton Castle, Bedale. 5th March, 1895.  
 Right Rev. Bishop Cowgill, Bishop's House, Leeds. 3rd December, 1911.  
 Herbert H. E. Craster, All Souls' College, Oxford. 4th December, 1906.  
 The Marquis of Crewe, Crewe Hall, Nantwich. 30th December, 1858.  
 Lord Crewe's Trustees, c/o K. C. Bayley, The College, Durham. 2nd June, 1891.  
 Dean and Chapter of Canterbury (Rev. Dr. Mason). 5th June, 1917.  
 E. W. Crossley, Broadcar, Holywell Green, Halifax. 5th June, 1906. (*Vice-President*, 1918.)  
 Very Rev. Matthew Culley, Coupland Castle, Northumberland. 5th June, 1902.  
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 Bishop of Durham, Auckland Castle. 3rd March, 1908.  
 Earl of Durham, K.G., Lambton Castle. 1st December, 1901.  
 R. H. Edleston, D.C.L., Rhadegund Buildings, Cambridge. 3rd December, 1895. (*Vice-President*, 1908—1918.)  
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 C. J. Fogg Elliot, Staindrop, Darlington. 6th June, 1913.  
 Mrs. Vyner Ellis, Minsterworth Court, Gloucester. 6th March, 1917.  
 H. G. Carr-Ellison, 15, Portland Terrace, Newcastle. 4th December, 1906.

- Col. F. H. L. Errington, 15 Old Square, Lincoln's Inn, W.C. 5th December 1916.
- J. Meade Falkner, Divinity House, Durham. 5th December, 1905.
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- Miss F. Foyle Fawcett, North Bailey, Durham. 6th March 1917.
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- David Flather, Brush House, Shire Green, Sheffield. 3 December 1918.
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- John George Gradon, Lynton House, Durham. 3rd March, 1891. (*Treasurer*, 1891—1919.)
- Neville Hadcock, Harden, Long Benton. 4th December, 1917.
- Sir W. H. Hadow, Sheffield University. 5th December, 1916.
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 H. P. Surtees, 6, St. Helen's Place, E.C. 6th June, 1899.  
 Siward Surtees, Somersham, Maidenhead. 3rd December, 1895.  
 Thos. Taylor, Chipchase Castle, Northumberland. 3rd March, 1902.  
 Rev. R. Fetzer Taylor, Grundisburgh House, Woodbridge, Suffolk. 1st December, 1903.  
 Nicholas Temperley, Carlton Terrace, Low Fell. 2nd March, 1920.  
 Major A. C. Tempest, Broughton Hall, Skipton. 3rd June, 1879.  
 Mrs. Graves Tempest, Bradenham House, High Wycombe. 9th December, 1909.  
 F. J. Thairlwall, 12, Upper Park Road, Hampstead, London. 3rd December, 1875.  
 A. Hamilton Thompson, South Broomfield, Jesmond Road, Newcastle. 1st December, 1919.  
 T. A. Thorpe, Bondgate Hall, Alnwick. 6th June, 1916.  
 Legh Tolson, Elm Lea, Dalton, Huddersfield. 7th December, 1886.  
 Truslove and Hanson, 153 Oxford Street, London. 4th December, 1917.  
 Robert B. Turton, Kildale Hall, Grosmont, York. 2nd March, 1897. *(Vice-President, 1903—1919.)*  
 Hon. S. R. Vereker, Hamsterley Hall, Durham. 5th March, 1917.  
 Kenneth H. Vickers, Armstrong College, Newcastle. 7th December, 1915.  
 Lady Alwyne Compton Vyner, Newby Hall, Yorks. 7th December, 1915.  
 Henry Wagner, 13, Half Moon Street, Piccadilly, London. 4th December, 1877.  
 William Warde-Aldam, Frickley Hall, Doncaster. 3rd March, 1891.  
 Sir T. E. Watson, Bart., St. Mary's Lodge, Newport, Mon. 2nd March, 1909.  
 The Rt. Rev. J. E. C. Weldon, D.D., Dean of Durham. 3rd December, 1918.

- Rev. F. G. Wesley, Winchester. 5th December, 1882. (*Vice-President*, 1899—1919.)  
 Sir Hedworth Williamson, Bart., Whitburn Hall, co. Durham. 3rd December, 1895.  
 Rev. Jas. Wilson, Dalston Vicarage, Cumberland. 4th June, 1903. (*Vice-President*, 1906—1919.)  
 Leonard Wilson, 926 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, U.S.A. 4th December, 1917.  
 H. M. Wood, 12, Tankerville Terrace, Newcastle. 4th March, 1902. (*Vice-President*, 1917—1919.)  
 Rev. Canon Wordsworth, St. Nicholas Hospital, Salisbury. 5th December, 1893.  
 The Lord Archbishop of York, Bishopthorpe, York. 2nd March, 1909.

#### LIBRARIES AND PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS:—

- The University of Aberdeen. 1st March, 1881.  
 The Library of Ampleforth Monastery, near York. 3rd December, 1895.  
 The John Hopkins University, Baltimore, U.S.A. 5th June, 1883.  
 The Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore, U.S.A. 3rd December, 1889.  
 The Barnsley Free Library. 2nd March, 1915.  
 The Barrow-in-Furness Public Library. 3rd December, 1901.  
 The Battersea Central Library. 3rd December, 1901.  
 The Queen's University, Belfast. 7th December, 1886.  
 The Birmingham Free Library. 3rd March, 1874.  
 The Oratory, Birmingham. 2nd June, 1914.  
 St. Thomas' Abbey, Erdington, Birmingham. 3rd December, 1901.  
 The Bolton Public Library. 4th March, 1884.  
 The Boston Athenæum, U.S.A. 1st March, 1870.  
 The Peabody Institute, Boston, U.S.A. 4th March, 1873.  
 The Boston Public Library, U.S.A. 7th December, 1886.  
 New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, U.S.A. 6th March, 1903.  
 The Bradford Free Library. 5th June, 1833.  
 Bristol Public Libraries. 2nd December, 1902.  
 The Society of Bollandist Fathers, Brussels. 3rd December, 1895.  
 Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, New York, U.S.A. 6th March, 1904.  
 The University of California, Berkley, U.S.A. 5th March, 1903.  
 Christ's College, Cambridge. 13th December, 1862.  
 Trinity College, Cambridge. 5th June, 1866.  
 The Public Library, Cardiff. 4th December, 1890.  
 The Carlisle Free Library, Tullie House, Carlisle. 1st March, 1892.  
 The Chelsea Public Libraries. 1st March, 1892.  
 The Dean and Chapter of Chester. 1st March, 1887.  
 The Chicago Public Library, U.S.A. 1st March, 1887.  
 The Newberry Library, Chicago, U.S.A. 6th December, 1892.  
 The University of Chicago, U.S.A. 3rd June, 1902.  
 University Library, Christiania. 7th March, 1903.  
 Cincinnati Public Library, U.S.A. 3rd December, 1901.  
 Downside Abbey Library, Stratton on the Fosse, Bath. 4th December, 1917.  
 Royal Library, Copenhagen. 7th March, 1905.  
 The Darlington Public Library. 2nd June, 1885.  
 The Public Library, Detroit, Michigan, U.S.A. 7th June, 1887.  
 The Dewsbury Public Library. 2nd June, 1891.  
 The Doncaster Public Library. 4th December, 1883.  
 The National Library of Ireland, Dublin. 3rd June, 1884.  
 St. Chad's College, Durham. 7th March, 1911.

- The Dean and Chapter of Durham. 1st June, 1869.  
 The University of Durham. 16th June, 1858.  
 The Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. 13th March, 1851.  
 The Signet Library, Edinburgh. 6th December, 1864.  
 The University of Edinburgh. 5th June, 1883.  
 The Public Library, Edinburgh. 3rd March, 1896.  
 The Royal Albert Memorial Public Library, Exeter. 1st December, 1909.  
 The Gateshead Public Library. 3rd December, 1889.  
 The Mitchell Library, Glasgow. 4th December, 1877.  
 The University of Glasgow. 3rd March, 1874.  
 The Charterhouse School Library, Godalming. 7th December, 1915.  
 The Public Library, Harrogate. 3rd March, 1896.  
 The Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A. 1st March, 1887.  
 The Free Library, Hawick, N.B. 3rd March, 1889.  
 House of Lords Library. 2nd June, 1908.  
 The Public Library, Huddersfield. 3rd December, 1903.  
 The Public Libraries, Hull. 5th March, 1895.  
 The Hull Subscription Library. 14th March, 1862.  
 Law Association of Philadelphia, U.S.A. 2nd March, 1909.  
 The Central Free Public Library, Leeds. 7th June, 1898.  
 The Leeds Institute of Science. 1st December, 1903.  
 The Leeds Library, Commercial Street, Leeds. 11th December, 1856.  
 The Library of the Church Institute, Leeds. 7th June, 1892.  
 The Thoresby Society, Leeds. 7th June, 1892.  
 The Dean and Chapter of Lincoln. 7th June, 1882.  
 The Liverpool Athenæum. 6th June, 1855.  
 The Liverpool Free Library. 3rd March, 1874.  
 The University of Liverpool. 5th March, 1895.  
 The Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, London. 1st March, 1864.  
 The Athenæum Club, Pall Mall, London. 12th December, 1861.  
 Constitutional Club, Northumberland Avenue, London. 3rd December, 1901.  
 The Honourable Society of Gray's Inn, London. 2nd June, 1874.  
 The Guildhall Library, London. 1st December, 1874.  
 The Honourable Society of the Inner Temple, London. 3rd December, 1867.  
 The Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, London. 11th March, 1851.  
 The Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, London. 1st December, 1868.  
 The Law Society, Chancery Lane, London, W.C. 7th March, 1905.  
 The London Library, 12, St. James's Square, London. 13th March, 1851.  
 The Library of the Oratory, South Kensington, London. 7th June, 1881.  
 The Library of the Public Record Office, Fetter Lane, London. 4th December, 1894.  
 The Reform Club, London. 3rd December, 1895.  
 The Royal Historical Society, London. 7th March, 1916.  
 The Royal Institution, London. 4th June, 1872.  
 The Dean and Chapter of St Paul's, London. 4th December, 1883.  
 Sion College, London. December, 1857.  
 The Library, University College, London. 7th December, 1886.  
 The New University Club, St. James's Street, London. 1st December, 1891.  
 Dr. Williams' Library, Gordon Square, London, W.C. 1st December, 1903.  
 The University of Lund, Sweden. 3rd March, 1891.  
 Chetham's Library, Manchester. December, 1857.  
 The John Rylands Library, Manchester. 4th December, 1900.



- The Manchester Free Library. 3rd December, 1867.  
 Owen's College, Manchester. 7th March, 1871.  
 The Public Library, Melbourne. 4th June, 1895.  
 Grand Rapids Public Library, Michigan, U.S.A. 3rd March, 1908.  
 University of Michigan. 5th June, 1904.  
 The Middlesbrough Free Library. 6th March, 1883.  
 The House of Resurrection, Mirfield, Yorks. 6th June, 1907.  
 The McGill University, Montreal. 2nd June, 1914.  
 The Armstrong College Library, Newcastle-on-Tyne. 1st June, 1915.  
 The Cathedral Library, Newcastle-on-Tyne. 2nd June, 1891.  
 The Public Libraries, Newcastle-on-Tyne. 4th December, 1883.  
 The Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle-on-Tyne. 24th September, 1853.  
 The Literary and Philosophical Society, Newcastle-on-Tyne. 17th March, 1853.  
 The Library of Princeton University, New Jersey, U.S.A. 1st March, 1887.  
 The Brooklyn Library, New York, U.S.A. 4th December, 1883.  
 The Columbia University, New York. 6th June, 1916.  
 The Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, U.S.A. 4th December, 1883.  
 The General Theological Seminary, New York, U.S.A. 7th December, 1910.  
 Union Theological Seminary, New York. 3rd December, 1912.  
 New York Historical Society, U.S.A. 7th March, 1905.  
 The New York State Library, Albany, New York, U.S.A. 1st March, 1887.  
 The New York Public Library, U.S.A. 1st March, 1887.  
 The North Riding of York County Council, Northallerton. 4th December, 1906.  
 The Nottingham Free Library. 1st March, 1881.  
 The Oxford Union Society. 4th March, 1902.  
 All Souls' College, Oxford. 3rd March, 1908.  
 Exeter College, Oxford. 5th March, 1878.  
 St. John's College, Oxford. 14th March, 1863.  
 Magdalen College, Oxford. 18th June, 1862.  
 Queen's College, Oxford. 2nd March, 1875.  
 Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. 6th June, 1905.  
 The Free Library of Philadelphia. 5th December, 1911.  
 The Library Company, Philadelphia, U.S.A. 5th December, 1882.  
 Dr. Shepherd's Library, Preston. 6th December, 1864.  
 St. Augustine's Abbey, Ramsgate. 3rd December, 1901.  
 The Dean and Chapter of Ripon. 3rd March, 1874.  
 The Rochdale Public Library. 4th March, 1884.  
 The University of St. Andrew's. 7th December, 1886.  
 The Mechanics' and Literary Institute, Scarborough. 5th December, 1899.  
 The Sheffield Free Library. 1st March, 1881.  
 The Minneapolis Athenæum Library, U.S.A. 6th March, 1917.  
 The Literary and Philosophical Society, Sheffield. 4th March, 1881.  
 The North Shields Free Library. 3rd December, 1889.  
 The South Shields Free Library. 1st June, 1875.  
 The Abbey of Solesmes, Appeldurcombe, Wroxall, Isle of Wight. 3rd December, 1895.  
 The Stockton-on-Tees Free Library. 2nd March, 1897.  
 St. John's College, Stonyhurst. 4th March, 1873.  
 The University Library, Strasburg. 4th June, 1895.  
 The Sunderland Free Library. 5th June, 1883.  
 The Subscription Library, Fawcett Street, Sunderland. 3rd December, 1889.

- The Free Library, Toronto, U.S.A. 1st March, 1892.  
 University of Texas, U.S.A. 2nd March, 1909.  
 The University of Upsala, Sweden. 2nd June, 1891.  
 The President of St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, Durham. September, 1838.  
 Genealogical Society of Utah, U.S.A. 6th December, 1914.  
 The National Library of Wales, Aberystwith. 2nd March, 1920.  
 The Library of the Congress, Washington, U.S.A. 2nd December, 1873.  
 The Public Library, West Hartlepool. 3rd March, 1896.  
 The Library of the Church House, Dean's Yard, Westminster. 4th June, 1895.  
 The Literary and Philosophical Society, Whitby. 5th June, 1906.  
 The Wigan Free Public Library. 3rd December, 1901.  
 The Royal Library, Windsor. 7th December, 1886.  
 The Norman Williams Public Library, Woodstock, Vermont, U.S.A. 7th June, 1887.  
 Wisconsin State Historical Society, U.S.A. 1st June, 1909.  
 The Yale College, Connecticut, U.S.A. 7th March, 1876.  
 The City of York Public Library. 6th March, 1894.  
 The Dean and Chapter of York. 13th March, 1857.  
 The Literary and Philosophical Society, York. 7th December, 1880.  
 The Yorkshire Archæological Association. 3rd March, 1868.  
 The Yorkshire Architectural Society. 7th March, 1871.

## JOHN GEORGE GRADON, TREASURER, IN

Dr.

From 1st January, 1917,

								£	s.	d.
To Balance from 1916 ..	°	..	..	..	..	..	..	550	9	6
„ Subscriptions received from 1st January, 1917, to 31st December, 1918 ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	611	2	0
„ Bank Interest ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	3	9
„ Interest on War Loan ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	35	15	0
„ Sale of Books ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	20	1	7
„ Sale of Old Paper ..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	15	5

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£1235 7 3

# ACCOUNT WITH THE SURTEES SOCIETY.

to 31st December, 1918.

£t.

## VOL. 128. REGISTERS OF JOHN DE ROMEYN. Vol. 2:—

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
By paid Knight and Foster, printing .. ..	97	10	6			
„ „ W. Brown, editing .. ..	10	10	0			
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	—————			125	4	4

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By paid Whitehead and Son, printing .. ..	159	8	0			
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	—————			220	6	0

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„ „ Rev. Dr. Fowler, editing .. ..	55	15	6			
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## MISCELLANEOUS:—

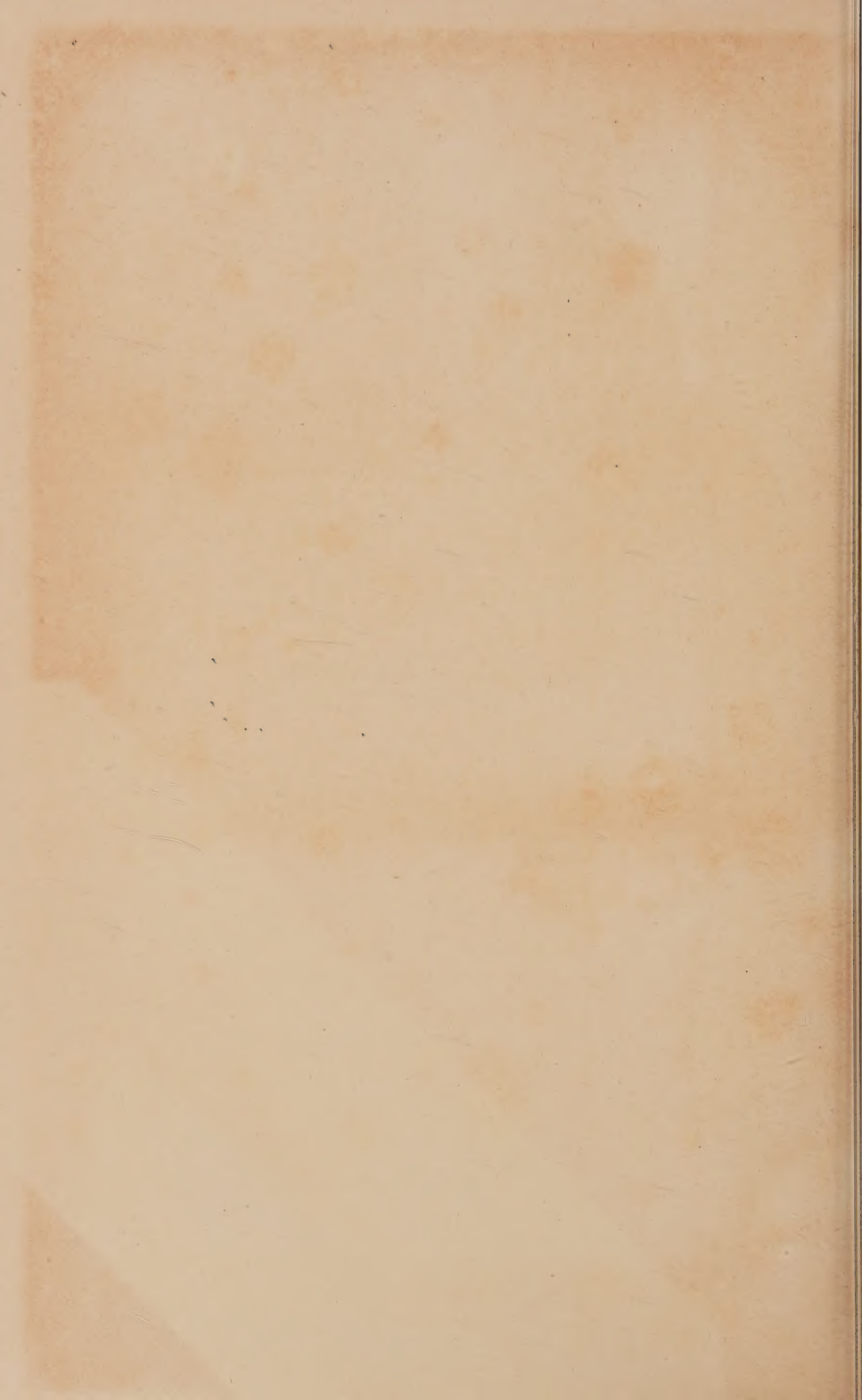
By paid Rev. Dr. Gee, Secretary, for two years' allowance to June, 1918 .. ..	60	0	0			
„ „ J. G. Gradon, Treasurer, for like .. ..	30	0	0			
„ „ Andrews and Co., for rent, insurance, and distributing Books .. ..	56	6	1			
„ „ Auditor .. ..	1	1	0			
„ „ Cheque Book .. ..	0	2	6			
„ „ Treasurer, for postage, stationery and other expenses (two years) .. ..	8	8	4			
„ „ J. H. Veitch for printing .. ..	0	10	6			
	—————			156	8	5
Balance in hands of Treasurer .. ..	153	15	3			
„ in War Loans .. ..	380	0	0			
	—————			533	15	3

£1235 7 3

Audited and found correct,

22nd March, 1919.

S. C. DAVIS.





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